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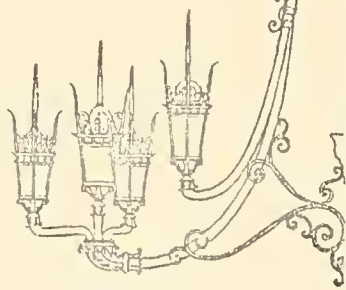
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FAMILY RELOCATION IN URBAN RENEWAL:

AN AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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by

David M. Muchnick
Senior Fellow
Dartmouth College
1965 - 1966

Castle Square

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1968



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PREFACE

In the past few years, a number of studies of urban renewal practices have appeared. While the number is growing, the need for knowledge of the impact of renewal remains great. This is especially true as regards the consequence of renewal for the people of the project area. One particular aspect, the displacement and subsequent relocation of project area families, has been the target, on the one hand, of much criticism and on the other, of too little study and research. It is in recognition of the need for the effective application of our increasing knowledge of the human effects of renewal that this paper is offered.

The paper presents the findings of a study of families who were displaced by urban renewal from the Castle Square section of Boston, Massachusetts, between December, 1962 and April, 1964, and were then relocated into housing of various types in a variety of locations. A survey of one hundred and twenty families and individuals provides the data for the analysis of the impact of forced dislocation and the role of relocation as an agent of social change. In the first chapter, I have presented a brief history of the development of relocation policy and a model of a relocation program designed to be an effective force for individual and community improvement. The second chapter contains a short description of Castle Square and the Castle Square relocation operation. The

third chapter deals with the theory and method employed. The fourth and fifth chapters discuss the results of the rehousing operation and the general consequences of relocation respectively. In the sixth chapter, can be found some of the implications the study has for planners and renewal officials and an evaluation of the role of relocation as an agent of social change.

I would advise the reader at the beginning that this research is presented as a pilot study involving the application of a number of new ideas, approaches, and techniques to the study of relocation and "slum clearance" programs. In addition, the study is handicapped by methodological problems with the sample, and the method and completeness of the analysis. Its findings, then, must be viewed in this light; its conclusions can frequently be no more than suggestions, its explanations, no more than hypotheses for future research. Yet, I would suggest that the need for uncovering theoretical insights into the operation of urban renewal and the war on poverty warrants the thoughtful consideration of the approach, findings, and suggestions of this study despite its acknowledged limitations.

I would also like to make clear my own position on urban renewal. It is that I am a strong supporter of the program. The need for such action can no longer be disputed. The debate must now centre on the method

and techniques to achieve the goals of the elimination of poverty and slums. It is hoped that the material in this paper will add substance to that debate and to the development of an effective human program of urban renewal.

I must note that this paper has had a rather bizarre "administrative history." By June, 1966, only the first three chapters and the appendices had been written and mimeographed since the year's field work had involved unavoidable delays and problems. During the following summer, the remainder was written. In September, I went to the University of Essex, England, on a Fulbright Scholarship to study poverty and urban planning. This preface was originally drafted in October, and the text was then mailed to Hanover. For a myriad of inexplicable reasons, only the fourth chapter was reproduced at that time. It was not until six months after my return to the United States in September, 1967 that the opportunity arose to complete the work.

In a project of this scope, an individual cannot work alone. I would like to take this opportunity to thank a number of individuals and organizations without whom it could not have been done. By mentioning some, I do not mean to slight the many others. There is Dartmouth College under whose Senior Fellowship Program I was granted my senior year for independent study and the opportunity to pursue this research; I would like

to thank the Program's director, Professor Arthur E. Jensen, for his patience and understanding throughout the year(s). There is the Boston Redevelopment Authority, to whose files I was given access, and from whose staff I received a great deal of co-operation; I would like especially to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Miss Joan Smith, Assistant Director of the Family Relation Department. The co-operation of the agency is itself testimony of its concern for the problems of relocation and "human renewal." The major part of the financial support was provided by Professor Frank Smallwood of Dartmouth, director of the Dartmouth - M.I.T. Urban Studies Program and administrator of its Mellon Foundation Grant. I would like to thank Professor Hadley Cantril of the Institute for International Research for permission to use his Self-Anchoring Striving Scale, Professors Kalman H. Silvert of Dartmouth and Leonard Reissman of Tulane University for permission to probe their ideas of modernism and to develop a simplified index of modernism modelled after their own, and Dr. Marc Fried and Mrs. Elaine Frieden of the Center for Community Studies of Harvard University and the Massachusetts General Hospital for their assistance with the questionnaire and codes and for their overall advice and interest. A hand goes out to Professor Frank Bonilla and Marvin Zonis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Mr. Robert Underhill of the Cardinal Cushing Center for Spanish

Speaking People for their help in securing interviewers, and to Professor David Kovoneck and the other members of the departments of government and sociology at Dartmouth for their extensive guidance and encouragement. A special note must be sent to my all-round helper, Miss Elsie Sniffin, secretary of the department of sociology and to my close friends who gave so freely and unselfishly of their time in a score of production tasks--Jack Walker, Alan Kreuger, Richard and Kay Baldwin, and Mary Daly. Finally, there can never be enough expressed about the contribution of my advisor, tutor, critic, and teacher (Mrs. K.H.) Frieda Silvert of Dartmouth.

The ultimate responsibility for what is written here is my own.

D.M.M.
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts
1 April 1968

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- III Index of Social Class
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Chapter I

RELOCATION: FROM BURDEN TO OPPORTUNITY

In 1949, the 81st Congress passed a Housing Act designed "to remedy the serious housing shortage, (to eliminate) substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and (to realize) as soon as feasible...the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family...."¹ This Act - in the tradition of the war-interrupted public housing policies of the late 1930's - gave birth to our present war against urban blight. Today, ^{seventeen} / years and ^{seven} / Housing Acts later, the attack continues more strongly and vigorously than ever with a Cabinet department and a more sophisticated, yet still developing, urban renewal program. The clearance of existing slums and the prevention of future ones remain primary goals of the Great Society. To this end, one of the prime tools at the disposal of the local renewal agencies is the relocation of project area families into "decent, safe, and sanitary" housing.

In fact, urban renewal was the first government program causing displacement that required (1) the relocation of the displaced families into standard housing, (2) the provision of professional assistance in finding such housing, and (3) the payment of moving costs.² Though the public responsibility principle was haphazardly recognized by the Federal Government in the years following the Housing Act of 1937, "the 1949 Housing Act made it clear that the National Government considered relocation a public responsibility and an essential feature of slum

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Chapter 2

CASTLE SQUARE AND URBAN RENEWAL

Castle Square is the name given to a twenty-eight acre segment of Boston's South End section. Bounded by Tremont Street on the West, the Extension of the Massachusetts Turnpike on the North, Washington Street on the East, and Dover Street on the South, it is located only a short distance from Copley Square and downtown Boston. (Note the heavily outlined area in the aerial photograph on the next page.)

Like the rest of the South End, Castle Square was once, but only briefly, a residential area of great charm and elegance. "You may have seen those houses in the South End," Marquand's Apley once wrote to his children, 'fine mansions with dark walnut doors and beautiful woodwork.' Until the financial panic of 1873, the construction of these fine mansions preoccupied those Bostonians who thought the South End would become another Beacon Hill. But monetary collapse shattered the dream; and even ten years before the panic, the South End had failed to fulfill its promise. Howells, in fact, wrote that Silas Lapham had, in 1863, 'bought very cheap of a terrified gentleman of good extraction who had discovered too late that the South End was not the thing, and who in the eagerness of his flight to the Back Bay threw in his carpets and shades for almost nothing.'"¹ Castle Square, then, experienced a hundred years of decline. It contained some of the worst housing in Boston, a good part of Skid Row - Dover Street, in fact, is the traditional main street of

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10-11-1944

Dear Mr. [Name]

I have received your letter of the 10th inst.

and am sorry to hear that

you are not well.

I hope you will soon be

able to return to work.

I am sure you will find

the work very interesting.

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Boston's Skid Row - and some very rundown commercial areas. The 1960 census reveals that only 85, or 8%, of the 1022 housing units in Castle Square were in sound physical condition, while 49% were deteriorating and 42% were dilapidated.² These figures suggest the degree of the decline.

In 1960, Castle Square had a population of 1,934 people living in 782 household units. That a slight majority (51.2%) of these households were single people living alone or with non-relatives³ suggests the rooming house nature of much of the district. Yet much of it was stable; in fact, 39.2% of the families⁴ had lived in the same place for more than seven years.

Males were more numerous (55%) than females, and the population was almost evenly divided between four age groups - under 20, 20-44, 45-59, and 60 and over. These figures tend to be associated with low-income districts, areas of hoboes and transients, of rooming houses and recent immigrant settlements.⁵

The first of the two marked characteristics of Castle Square was the immigrant nature of its population and the concomitant ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of these immigrants. Like the rest of the South End, Castle Square served as "a staging area for the assimilation of immigrants of yesteryear and their offspring."⁶ The census shows that 49.2% of the population (951 people) were of "foreign stock" - 27.6% being foreign-born and 21.6% being first and second generation - but more revealing is the fact that well over three-quarters (83.8%) of the sample

population, that is heads of households only, were of foreign stock. Nor was any one ethnic group outstanding. Pockets of Italians, Irish, Greeks, Syrians, Chinese, and many others lived side by side in this small melting pot. The Negro community comprised only 15.9% of the population of Castle Square.

Yet, if ethnic variety was one mark of Castle Square, poverty and its handmaidens were the other. The median family income in Castle Square was \$4,224, or 73.5% of the city's median, \$5,747. More than one-third of the Castle Square families (36.9%) earned less than \$3,000 a year, which is more than twice the proportion of such families in the city of Boston (16.6%). The breakdown is as follows:

<u>Family Income⁷</u>	<u>Castle Square</u>	<u>Boston City</u>
under \$3,000	36.9%	16.6%
\$3-5,999	32.1%	37%
\$6-9,999	19.8%	32.6%
\$10,000 and over	11.2%	13.6%
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.8%</u>

The level of educational achievement in Castle Square was much lower than the over-all level for the city. The median number of school years completed by persons aged 25 years and over was 8.5 in Castle Square, a level below that of high school entrance, whereas the figure for Boston as a whole is much higher, 11.2., or a level close to high school completion. Fully 62.5% (795) of these people had either no schooling or, at most, only elementary school education.

Like the entire city, the majority (56.1%) of Castle Square's labor force was semi-skilled and unskilled. On the

other hand, Castle Square's unemployment rate (13.3%) was well above the city's average of 5%. Moreover, if we note the more detailed figures for the entire South End, it is quite possible that these rates do not tell the whole unemployment story.

"Unpublished census data for 1960 indicate that 37.5% of the males who were not counted as being in the labor force were in the prime ages, between 16 and 65, for participation in the labor force.⁸ That they were not in the labor force probably is due to several causative factors generated by the culture of poverty. This rate, a social unemployment rate, includes only males between the ages of 16 and 65, who were not attending school or in an institution. It includes the long term unemployed, the discouraged job seeker, the psychological and physically disabled, and those engaged in illicit occupations, of which the South End has a substantial share. The percentage of persons over 65 who were gainfully employed is also pitifully low in the South End. The same unpublished census data shows that only 18.8% of the senior citizens there were in the labor force, as compared with 46.4% in West Roxbury, a middle class district in Boston, and with 38.9% for the city as a whole."⁹

Finally, some applicable figures for the South End as a whole can be cited to complete this picture of poverty and deprivation. The South End accounts for a disproportionate share of the city's welfare load;¹⁰ in fact, nearly one-quarter (22.7%) of the households in the sample received some form of welfare. The South End's rate of children receiving Aid to Dependent Children is nearly three times higher than the city-

wide rate.¹¹ The infant mortality and tuberculosis death rates in the South End are nearly twice and four times as high as their corresponding Boston-wide rates, respectively.¹² Finally, the South End's juvenile delinquency rate is more than twice the Boston City rate.¹³

In short, Castle Square was a low-income district. It was an "entry-area," the home of newly-arrived immigrants from many countries and of earlier ones reluctant, or still unprepared, to leave the familiar culture of the area. Yet it was also the location of Skid Row, the home of social rejects, transients, and "winos." Although it was the home of a substantial number of lower middle and working class families, it was mostly the home of the poor. The faces of the poverty were many: the young newcomers and the elderly, the fatherless and multi-problem families, the discouraged non-strivers and the alcoholics.¹⁴ Moreover, the homes were those of the poor, badly blighted and run-down. It was a likely target for urban renewal.

Renewal and Relocation

First proposed in the late 1950's, the Castle Square Urban Renewal Project was effectively initiated on December 19, 1962, when the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) acquired the title to the 28-acre tract. Incorporated in the South End project in 1960 and designed accordingly, the plan required almost total clearance of the area and proposed that there be "102 apartments of public housing for the elderly and 500 apartments for moderate income families, as well as a small shopping plaza, a parking garage, and some commercial and light industrial space."

Clearance has been completed and the residential development now under construction features "landscaped interior courts, large play and sitting areas, off-street parking for tenants, a shopping arcade off Tremont Street, and a small public park. Initial occupancy is scheduled for early summer of 1966."¹⁵

The job of relocating the Castle Square residents was contracted out by the BRA to the United South End Settlements (USES), a local community organization of long and highly respected standing in the community. This procedure was a marked example of the shift in attitudes concerning the "humanizing" of the relocation process described in Chapter 1. It enlisted trained social workers and emphasized goals which reflected the experience and greater sophistication that were learned in previous relocation programs.

...In addition to the basic requirements of rehousing, United South End Settlements incorporated some social welfare services into the Castle Square Relocation Program for the purpose of '(1) minimizing hardship; (2) minimizing the possibility of destructive impact on neighborhoods due to the influx of un-urbanized families; (3) maximizing the opportunity to achieve high levels of living that relocation provides to families; (4) resolving critical social problems that come to issue by virtue of rehousing.' In order to insure the quality of work with families in the rehousing process, and to make available social welfare services, USES filled key positions with professionally trained and experienced social workers, possessing skills appropriate to the relocation program.

On the day of landtaking, USES began in earnest the relocation of the 644 families in the workload as of that date.¹⁷ One year later, December 1963, when the contract expired, only 24 families remained on site. Responsibility for this group was taken by BRA, and by April 1964, relocation was completed.

only 24 families remained on site. Responsibility for this group

NOTES

1. From the introduction to "The South End," Boston, Vol. XLVII, No. 10 (October 1965), p. 3.
2. United States Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts for Boston, Massachusetts, 1960. The description of Castle Square presented here is based on the 1960 Census data for Tract I-1. Two notes on its accuracy are in order. First, this tract comprises nearly but not all of Castle Square. Secondly, this is a picture taken two years before renewal began. During that time, shifts in the population occurred. Thus, this is not a completely accurate description of the relocated population. Unfortunately, demographic data for the 1962 inhabitants are not available so that the census approximation must suffice. All data in this section are from the census unless otherwise noted. Complete statistics appear in Appendix I.
3. These are "primary individuals" in Census terminology.
4. Unless otherwise specified, the term "family" will include both multi-member families and primary individuals. In this sense, it will be used synonymously with "household."
5. Cf. Charles Newcomb, "Graphic Presentation of Age and Sex Distribution of Population in the City," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss Jr. (eds.) Cities and Society (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 382-392.
6. Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), Anti-Poverty Planning Unit, South End Community Action Program Components (Boston), unpublished mimeo., p. I-5.
7. These figures include only multi-member families, not "primary" individuals.
8. Only those actively seeking work within 60 days of the date of the census are counted as being in the labor force.
9. ABCD, op.cit., pp. I-10 and I-11.
10. Ibid., p. I-11.
11. United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, Research Department, South End: Demographic Data (Boston, July 1963), unpublished mimeo., p. 6. This paper also provided the comparative data for Boston as a whole.
12. Ibid., p. 6.
13. Idem.
14. Cf. ABCD, op.cit., pp. I-7 and I-8.

15. Boston Redevelopment Authority, South End Urban Renewal: Sixteen Neighborhoods Plan for a Better Community (Boston), unpublished mimeo., pp. 7-8.
16. United South End Settlements, Castle Square Residential Relocation Program Final Report (Boston, February 1964), p. 33. A description of the staff is found in Appendix II.
17. 347 or 53.7% were multi-member families; 298 or 46.2% were single person households. Note also the loss of population since the 1960 census. There were 138 fewer households in 1962.

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Chapter 3

THEORY AND METHOD

The need for a sound theoretical base becomes readily apparent when a large-scale empirical study of social phenomena is undertaken. Theory is necessary not only to order and interpret the results, but also to structure the direction of the research itself. Theory enables the researcher to predict, at the outset, what factors may be important as well as aiding him to weigh the evidence that is gathered. Without the order imposed by the hypothesis, it is quite possible to flounder aimlessly in a sea of confusing "facts." Theory provides a conceptual framework with which to study the problem and interpret the facts. Furthermore, I would submit that the need for ferreting out theoretical insights into the operation of urban renewal and the war on poverty warrants the thoughtful consideration of the approach, findings, and suggestions of this study in spite of its pilot nature and the methodological limitations of the sample described later in this chapter.

Relocation from urban renewal projects may be approached from several points of view. The focus in this study is on the process and consequences of relocation viewed as an agent of social change. In this context, two concepts seemed especially relevant. The first is the concept of social class; the second is the theory of modernization.

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CLASS

A social class is an aggregate of people who have in common the same "life chances" and "life style."¹ Life chances here defined as the opportunities to acquire goods and property are determined primarily by a man's occupation and supply of capital. Life styles by contrast are patterns of use of consumer goods. A social class is, in short, a "distinct reality which embraces the fact that people live, eat, play, mate, dress, work, and think at contrasting and dissimilar levels. These levels - social classes - are the blended product of shared and analogous occupational orientations, educational backgrounds, economic wherewithal, and life experiences. Persons occupying a given level need not be conscious of their class identity. But because of their approximately uniform backgrounds and experiences...they will share comparable values, attitudes, and life styles. Each of these likenesses will be reinforced in turn by clique, work, and friendship ties which are limited in the main to persons occupying the same class level."² As a number of studies have shown, class is becoming an increasingly more powerful influence in determining an individual's personality and social behavior.³

The over-all appearance and population characteristics of the district suggested that Castle Square might be a predominantly lower class area. However, a three-item index of social class was devised to allow differences within the social group to become more precise on the hypothesis, as stated below, that relocation may have dissimilar consequences for different groups.

The first component was the occupation of the head of the household. The variety of jobs were grouped into five situses on the basis of the level of prestige commonly associated with the occupation.⁴ The top situs, referred to in a later table simply as "A", consisted of free professionals (doctors, lawyers, etc.), practitioners of the fine arts, and high-level administrators and policy makers (national businessmen, generals, senators, etc.).⁵ The next group, "B", included highly-trained semiprofessionals and second-level administrators - for example, applied scientists, journalists, local big businessmen, and state government officials. The third tier, "C", encompassed, in part, community professionals (high school teachers, social workers, etc.), small businessmen, local politicians, white collar employees, and skilled manual workers. The next lowest group, "D," was that of semi-skilled manual workers, factory hands, barbers, restaurant cooks, and the like. The lowest situs, "E", included the unskilled manual and personal service workers, among them janitors, porters, and domestics.

As had been expected, the number of family heads who were not working was high (42.5%).⁶ The second item, the source of the family income, therefore, further refined the index. It referred to the resources of the entire family, for example the pension of a retired father and the earnings of a working daughter. Families receiving any form of welfare - Old Age Assistance, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, General Relief, and Disability Relief - were ranked lowest regardless

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of whether they had income from other sources. Those who relied solely on pensions - for example, social security, private or governmental pensions, and job or veteran disability payments - were rated next highest, followed in ascending order by those with incomes from both pensions and work and by those for whom work provided the only source. At the top were those families who also had income from some form of capital - that is, rentals, savings, dividends, and the like.

The final element in the index was total household income. Two sets of approximately equivalent income groupings - one for families and one for individuals - were devised to provide some control for the influence of family size. The first pair of categories - under \$3,000 per annum for families and under \$1500 per annum for individuals - included the poverty-stricken as defined by the federal poverty program standards. According to the guidelines of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a non-farm family of four is to be considered "in poverty" if its income is less than \$3,130 per year; likewise, a single individual, if his annual income is less than \$1,540, or about half as much.⁷ This 50% cut was maintained, therefore, in the subsequent income levels which were as follows: (1) \$3,000-5,999 per year for families and \$1500-2999 per annum for individuals, (2) \$6,000-7,999 and \$3,000-3,999, (3) \$8,000-9,999 and \$4,000-4,999, and (4) \$10,000 per year or more and \$5,000 per year or more.⁸

The combined index⁹ distinguished four classes: an under-class, a lower class, a working class, and a middle class. As Table 3.1 reveals, the bulk of the sample were lower and working class and only a little over a tenth were middle class.

Table 3.1

SOCIAL CLASS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

<u>Class</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
underclass	22	19.0
lower	43	37.1
working	37	31.9
middle	14	12.1
	(116)	(100.1)

The underclass included those who were not working and those in occupations with the lowest prestige. Nearly all were dependent on welfare to some degree for their incomes, which in most cases were below the poverty level. A slight majority of the lower class were unskilled laborers or service personnel. Although a substantial number had annual incomes below \$3,000, only 13.9% received any welfare payments; on the other hand, almost half had members on pensions. In the working class, there were no welfare recipients and wages and salaries were the most frequent sources of income. For the most part, semi-skilled laborers, factory workers, and skilled service workers, the majority of the working class, had incomes between \$3,000 and \$6,000 per year; many earned more. Nearly three-quarters of the middle class had occupations in the third situs. All earned more than \$6,000 annually and more than a quarter had income from capital holdings. Tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 show the relationships between the classes and the items in the index.

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Table 3.2
OCCUPATIONAL SITUS, by Social Class

	<u>UNDER</u>		<u>LOWER</u>		<u>WORKING</u>		<u>MIDDLE</u>	
	N= 22		N= 43		N= 37		N= 14	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	0	0	10	23.3	12	32.4	10	71.4
D	1	4.5	9	20.9	21	56.8	4	28.6
E	7	31.8	22	51.2	3	8.1	0	0
Not Working/ No occupation given	14	63.6	2	4.7	1	2.7	0	0

Table 3.3

SOURCE OF INCOME, by Social Class

	<u>UNDER</u>		<u>LOWER</u>		<u>WORKING</u>		<u>MIDDLE</u>	
	N= 22		N= 43		N= 37		N= 14	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Capital	0	0	0	0	2	5.4	4	28.6
Work	0	0	16	37.2	34	91.9	8	57.1
Pension & Work	0	0	8	18.6	1	2.7	2	14.3
Pensions	2	9.1	13	30.2	0	0	0	0
Welfare	20	90.9	6	13.9	0	0	0	0

Special Class

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The relevance of social class to an analysis of the results of relocation is not hard to see. Mention is often made of the clash in value systems that prevents middle-class institutions such as settlement houses, welfare agencies, and schools from "reaching" the lower class "slum dwellers."¹¹ Similarly, a recent study of redevelopment has highlighted the conflict between the values and goals of the professional middle-class planners and those of the working class residents of the project area.¹² It is possible, therefore, that different classes will respond in varied ways to the renewal of their area. One could also expect that relocation might have dissimilar consequences for the various classes. Since housing itself is part of one's life chances, it is likely that the rehousing will be closely related to class. Moreover, a number of studies have detailed the results of relocation, and moving in general, on working and lower class communities.¹³ It will be especially interesting to note what happened to the underclass for they are the prime targets of the war on poverty. In short, the application of the concept of social class appears to promise a number of insights into the operation of urban renewal.

MODERNIZATION¹⁴

The development of modern society from traditional society involves fundamental transformations in the social structure, social organizations, social values, and social behavior of that society. The suggestion of this study is that this transition can best be understood by viewing these societies

as points on a continuum of development, or modernization. The typology of development that follows, it must be remembered, is a theoretical construct and the modern and traditional societies, as postulated below, are ideal types - that is, they are conceptual models of types of societies, not descriptions or facsimiles of reality.

Discussions of the modernization frequently focus on three prime differences between modern and traditional societies. In the first place, modern societies allow freedom of choice and action based on rational decisions. In traditional societies, on the other hand, choice is limited and social action is fixed or prescribed by habit or ritual more or less rigidly for every situation. Secondly, modern societies encourage relativity and change. Traditional societies, in contrast, discourage change and "glorify" their inheritance from the past. Traditional society has a particularistic view which relates all value judgments to universal judgments of good and evil. Thirdly, the social organization of modern societies is highly specialized, whereas that of traditional societies concentrates the majority of functions in a small number of institutions. The importance of this transition and the peculiar characteristics of each type of society to relocation will be shown after further background is provided on the impact of development on five systems in the total society.

Individual personality

A distinct personality structure is associated with each of the two types of societies. "The traditional personality is

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that which adapts itself to habit-action, and automatically complies with prescribed norms." The modern personality, on the other hand, is able to make a decision after carefully considering the different alternatives. A social act for the modern man is, in short, rational and pragmatic. Modern man, too, is a relativist and a secularist; and, he is empathic - that is to say, he has "the capacity to see (himself) in the other fellow's situation."¹⁵

Moreover, traditional society is characterized by primary, face-to-face interpersonal relationships; modern society, by secondary, contractual ones. In modern society, relationships are based on utility; in traditional societies, they are based on the "whole individuals" in prescribed stations.

Local community

In modern society, attachments and outlooks extend beyond the boundaries of small, local areas. "The local community, for its part, often loses its importance.... It is replaced by the nation which becomes the object of loyalties hitherto pledged to the community.

Social stratification

Fundamental changes also occur in the stratification system. In modern society, an open class system, based on equality of opportunity for all members, replaces the caste system of traditional society. The principle of ascription gives way to that of merit as the division of labor is guided by rational and utilitarian considerations rather than noneconomic

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factors such as kinship or religious and moral precepts.

Moreover, traditional economy was determined by status, not by the market. Traditional man "does not aim at safeguarding his individual interest in the acquisition of material possessions, but rather at ensuring social good-will, social status, social assets. He values possessions primarily as a means to that end."¹⁶

Family

The family systems, too, are radically different. In modern society, the nuclear family of parents and children replaces the extensive family group prevalent in traditional society. Although other family relationships retain a certain significance in modern society, the larger kinfolk group has considerably less importance as a mechanism of social control, cooperation, and communal relations.

The modern family is characterized by egalitarian relations between members and the freedom extended to the children and to the wife. Family life forms only a small part of the life of each of its members who are able to move about freely in pursuit of their varied interests. In modern society, most of the traditional functions carried out by the family are transferred to other institutions and its stability is dependent on the compatibility of and the affective relations between members, and on the ability of each nucleus "to function as an intimate group in which the whole personality may find public and uninhibited expression."

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Political Institution

A fundamental change occurs in the field of political activity. Regardless of the formal political structure, modern society is participant society; it exhibits more extensive political participation on the part of larger numbers of people. As Daniel Lerner has written:

...persons who are urban, literate, participant, and empathic differ from persons who lack any of these attributes - and differ on a significant personal trait which is distinctive of the modern style. Such a trait is 'having opinions' on public matters. Traditional man has habitually regarded public matters as none of his business. For the modern men in a participant society, on the contrary, such matters are fraught with interest and importance. A broad range of opinions on public questions can be taken as a distinctive mark of modernity.¹⁷

As a result of the increase in the number of distinct institutions, there is, in modern society, what is called a "pluralism" of vested, special interests which leads to secular compromise as opposed to the consensual decisions found in traditional society.

This contrast between traditional and modern societies is not only an academically interesting generalization, but, as will become increasingly apparent, is extremely significant in its usefulness for insightful direction and operational hypothesis.

MODERNIZATION AND RELOCATION

It may, at first, seem unusual to consider a developmental typology in a country considered by many to approximate most nearly the modern ideal type. That it is not becomes evident when one views modernization as a continuing set of changes that occur in asymmetrical fashion. As Echavarria and Hauser write, "(The) essential feature (of development) is that it does not occur in a uniform and parallel manner but, on the contrary, in unsynchronized phases. There are different tempos and speeds in the various countries, in the various zones of a single country, in the various social groups, and in the various sectors of the social structure."¹⁸

The asymmetrical nature of the transition gives rise to disparities in levels of development both between and within countries, institutions, groups, and individuals. In the first place, not only do countries at various stages of development coexist, but also within a single country there are different areas at different levels. For example, urban areas tend to be more nearly modern than rural districts, and yet at the same time some cities are more modern than others. In the second place, various institutions in the same society may more nearly approximate the modern or traditional types at the same time.

Moreover, there may be conflicts between the social structure and the individual, which may result in conflict within the individual himself. Differences may occur, for example, between the behavior required of an individual by an institution at a certain stage of modernity and the values of

that individual. For instance, "the changes in the family structure brought about by transformations in the occupational structure may not be accompanied by the changes necessary in the attitudes, motivations, and sentiments of the individuals concerned."¹⁹ Finally, the development of the various social groups, and within even one group, may be unequal. "The transformation may begin in determined sectors of urban elites and then spread downwards toward the different strata of the city's population from highest to lowest."²⁰

In short, development of even one country is an exceedingly complex matter. When we focus on the question of modernization with less than a worldwide perspective, that is, when we look not at differences between countries but at a single country alone, the varied levels of development coexisting within it become clear. It is quite possible to find within a certain country different areas and groups and, in fact, within these different individuals at various stages in the transition. As Echavarría and Hauser write regarding Latin America:

... in the big cities of Latin America...there exist side by side middle classes and certain groups of the upper class at a comparative stage of advanced development...; their type of family, their economic activity, their forms of consumption, their ambitions, and ideologies will embody the characteristics of (modern) society. At a lower level will be found the popular classes of the metropolis, and, finally, at a still lower level...those groups of the popular classes which have recently immigrated from lesser developed areas.²¹

Similarly, in the United States - which at the world level may be the most developed country - different areas of

the nation and various members of the population are at different levels of development. The Ozarks are not metropolitan New York and Spanish Harlem is not Park Avenue. Nor was Castle Square "Modern America."

What the theory of development means for urban renewal and relocation now becomes clearer. Recalling the nature of low-income areas as both "urban village" and "urban jungle" - and, especially, in the present case, the nature of Castle Square as a poverty-stricken entry area - and recalling also the view of renewal and relocation as forces for change coming from outside the community lead to the suggestion that the relocation operation, from low-income areas at least, can be viewed as an example of forced change within the transitional period of movement from traditional society to modern society. The problems involved in relocation would then be subsumed under this broader framework, and the difficulties of adaptation, tensions, contrasts and conflicts might be able to be interpreted according to general propositions applicable to the general process of transition.

The problems and conflicts involved in modernization have been classified into three groups, each of which is relevant to the renewal process. They include:

1. The traditional structures are dislocated without being replaced by new structures which are peculiar to or compatible with (modern) society.... This type of problem is related particularly to the family (and) the local community....
2. Conflicts occur between various sectors of the social structure which prove mutually incompatible and bring the individual face to face with contradictions and opposing requirements with no possible prospect of solution. This type of conflict may spring from the

coexistence of attitudes, standards, and values which belong to different stages of development.

3. The change takes place so rapidly that the usual mechanisms of adaptation...are unable to function.... (This problem includes) large population nuclei which are suddenly confronted by forms of thought and action that are alien to their type of personality.²²

The problems involved in and created by relocation fit well within the framework of this classification. Renewal - especially total clearance projects - in "urban villages" or in working class communities may have the first result, the displacement of traditional structures.²³ By its very nature, redevelopment may destroy the local community, the spatial base of the traditional colony. A classic example of this is the clearance of Boston's West End, the urban village.²⁴ Even today with its emphasis on rehabilitation and conservation and its more "human" relocation policies, renewal may still disrupt the traditional community and offer no adequate replacement.

The second type of conflict - that between sectors of the social structure at different levels of development - may be the essence of many of the clashes over urban renewal. Renewal itself is a modern concept - rational, efficient, bureaucratic, and directed at change - and the values upon which it is based may be in conflict with those of the more traditional residents of project areas. The professional planner, for example, places more value on housing and a "greater emphasis on the status functions of housing" than do the more traditional groups.²⁵

A too-rapid process of change, the third category, may also be a characteristic of the relocation operation. In the

first place, as in case two above, relocation may confront the traditional personality with a modern form of behavior before he is "ready" to deal with it. Secondly, a traditional individual may find himself relocated into an area of more advanced development, an area in which he is not yet "prepared" to live. In a sense, then, relocation and renewal may speed the "melting pot" process on the locational dimension only; the traditional man may settle in the house and neighborhood into which his children might have moved sometime in the future.

The nature of these conflicts has definite implications for the results of relocation at the individual level - that is, for the ability of relocated families to adjust to the change. In the three classes of conflicts, maladjustment most often, if ever, reveals itself as a lack of norms, or anomie, in the individual. People's behavior is generally "conditioned by a number of frames of reference" which guide their actions and their styles of feeling and thought. These may be the more consensual norms of the traditional society or the more pluralistic criteria of choice typical of modern society. In any event, the individual requires sufficient inner resiliency - either the use of prescribed solutions or "the maneuvering of different selective criteria." However, during periods of societal transition, the individual may find himself in the position of having been deprived of one while still not the possessor of the other. In the cases of conflict, "the inner mechanisms fail to meet the requirements of the objective situation, which may call for rational decisions that an individual of traditional personality is unable to make. This may give

rise to insoluble dilemmas."²⁶ Thus when urban renewal disrupts an area, the results may be similar. Individuals at a more modern level of development may be more able to cope with relocation and change, whereas those at the more traditional stages may be less well equipped to handle the situation.

In toto, therefore, this relationship between urban renewal and the development process allows us to see relocation even more fully as an agent of social change. If account is taken of the levels of development of those affected, if change is directed to those who can/^{change}and additional aid is offered to those who are not "ready," renewal and relocation may offer the opportunity to ease the problems of the transition. On the contrary, as shown above, renewal may greatly compound these difficulties if the asymmetrical effect is not accounted for. In light of the above discussion, development theory was taken to be a useful framework within which the problem of relocation and the results of displacement could well be studied.

INDEX OF MODERNISM

In order to operationalize the theoretical implications of asymmetrical development, an index of modernism was devised. The definition of the level of development of an individual for the purposes of this study was based on a rating of his value orientations and behaviors in six institutions: family, community, economic, educational, religious, and political.²⁷ The index consisted of six pairs of closed questions - two for each institution, one to tap value orientations and the other to ascertain behavioral patterns. Each question was phrased such that the alternatives given offered a modern response - that is,

a pattern of behavior or a value associated with the institution in modern society - and also a traditional one.

The questions on the family institution (Fig. 3.1) focused on the nature of the parent-child relationship. It was assumed that the willingness of the head of the family to subordinate his own needs to those of his child is a characteristic of modern behavior. Similarly, the modern parent values an upward mobility pattern by his child. In modern society, the family is child-oriented.²⁸

Fig. 3.1

MODERNISM INDEX, Family and Community

FAMILY

Value: Do you think that the good parent should:

1. urge his children to get ahead (MODERN)
2. teach his children to be satisfied with their place (TRADITIONAL)
3. Don't know (TRADITIONAL)

Behavior: Suppose a man wins some money - say about \$5,000. He'd like to buy a few things that he and his wife both need badly, including a car so they can get to work more easily and cheaply. However, his son needs the money so he can continue his education. What will his father do?

1. give the money to his son (MODERN)
2. get the things he and his wife need (TRADITIONAL)
3. Don't know (TRADITIONAL)

COMMUNITY

Value: Would you say that the new immigration from Cuba:

1. concerns every American (MODERN)
2. doesn't really concern you (TRADITIONAL)
3. Don't know (TRADITIONAL)

Behavior: Do you care very much about what's happening outside of your own neighborhood and your own family and friends?

1. Yes (MODERN)
2. No (TRADITIONAL)

The extent of public concern and awareness was used as the indicator of the scope of community interest. The empathic modern man is more likely to see beyond himself, his family and his local neighborhood. Agreement on the admission of Cuban immigrants had been reached shortly before the interviewing began, so that it provided a timely issue with which to test concern.(Fig. 3.1)

Acceptance of the principle of merit as the basis for employment was the indicator of modern economic behavior. The combined pattern of factors considered important in the interviewee's judgments of other individuals distinguished between modern and traditional attitudes. It is generally accepted that the achieved criteria as indicated by levels of income, occupation, and education are related to more modern values. In traditional society, on the other hand, the prescribed characteristics of color, nationality, and religion make a difference in one's opinion of others. (Fig. 3.2)

Fig. 3.2

MODERNISM INDEX, Economic Institution

Value: Which of the following do you feel makes a difference in deciding a person's position in the community?

	(1)	(2)
	Makes a difference	No difference
A. his nationality (race)	T	M
B. his occupation	M	T
C. his friends	-	-
D. his income	M	T
E. his religion	T	M
F. his education	M	T
G. his political contacts	-	-

Behavior: Whom would you choose to work with or hire to work for you:

1. someone you know well no matter what his qualifications (T)
2. any qualified person (M)

The pattern of responses that resulted on this question was then rated according to the following procedure. First, the response to each one of the factors - i.e., difference or no difference - was rated as either modern or traditional - for example, a "no difference" answer regarding nationality was taken as modern; conversely, all other types of answers were taken as traditional. Then, any pattern that included modern responses on three or more of the five items was typed as "modern," and vice versa. The importance of friends was omitted from consideration in the pattern because having friends is not necessarily a characteristic of only one type of society; friends may be important in both worlds. Secondly, the item "political contacts" was not included because during the interviewing its meaning was found to be unclear.

In modern society, much emphasis is placed on the importance of education. To have his behavior rated as modern, the respondent must have wanted both his son and daughter at least to complete high school. It was thought that the modern man would accept the value of education as a means of improving one's position in the social system. (Fig. 3.3)

Increased secularization and the compartmentalization of religion tend to be associated with modern society. The absence of religious influence on economic behavior was taken as the indicator of modernity. The definition of value orientations hinged on the acceptance of religious precepts - sincere belief being considered the traditional response. In measuring the value, the projective technique was thought to be the most feasible method. (Fig. 3.4)

Fig. 3.3

MODERNISM INDEX, Education

Value: Do you think that education should:

1. enable the individual to fit into his proper place in society (TRADITIONAL)
2. allow the individual to make a new place for himself in society (MODERN)
3. don't know (TRADITIONAL)

Behavior:

A. Do you want your son (if you had a son at the right age, would you want him) to:

1. go to work as soon as possible (TRADITIONAL)
2. complete high school (MODERN)
3. learn a trade (without completing high school) (TRADITIONAL)
4. go to college (MODERN)

B. Do you want your daughter (if you had a daughter at the right age, would you want her) to:

1. go to work as soon as possible (TRADITIONAL)
2. complete high school (MODERN)
3. get married as soon as possible (TRADITIONAL)
4. go to college (MODERN)

Fig. 3.4

MODERNISM INDEX, Religious and Political

RELIGIOUS

Values: Do you think that most people hold the religious beliefs that they do because:

1. the community expects them to do so (MODERN)
2. they are the fundamental truths that are the key to the good life (TRADITIONAL)
3. don't know (MODERN)

Behavior: Do your religious beliefs:

1. help you in your work (TRADITIONAL)
2. hinder you in your work (TRADITIONAL)
3. make no difference in your work (MODERN)

POLITICAL

Value: How important do you feel your vote is to the democratic way of life?

1. very important (MODERN)
2. important "
3. means a little (TRADITIONAL)
4. is unimportant "

Fig. 3.4 (cont'd.)

MODERNISM INDEX, Political

Behavior: Do you (did you) ever:

	(1) <u>Yes</u>	(2) <u>No</u>
A. talk politics with friends	(1)	(0)
B. talk politics with neighbors	(1)	(0)
C. talk politics with family	(1)	(0)
D. work in a political campaign	(4)	(0)
E. attend political (civic) meetings	(2)	(0)

In the political sphere (Fig. 3.4), the importance of voting as a method of making one's opinions and interests felt served as the indicator of the value orientations associated with pluralistic modern society. Similarly, active participation was taken to be indicative of modern political behavior. The question on participation yielded a modern or traditional rating in the following fashion: (1) Each "yes" response received a numerical weight - "1" for each "talk" alternative, "2" for attending meetings, and "4" for working in a campaign; and (2) the weights were summed and a score of 4 to 9 was rated as "modern." In modern society, full participation was assumed to involve more than discussion.

From the responses regarding the individual institutions, two composite ratings - one for value orientations and the other for behavioral patterns - were determined. To do so, the number of modern responses, in each dimension respectively, was added. The range of possible totals, from 0 to 6, was dichotomized, and sums of 4 or more were rated as modern, and those of three or less were considered traditional. Thus, for example, if

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an individual was rated modern, in the behavioral sphere, in four or more institutions, he was rated modern over-all, in that sphere.

As was hypothesized, the resulting composite ratings for values and behavior were not necessarily similar. For, as was stated earlier, there may be conflicts between the levels of development within the individual himself. For example, the modernization of behavior within one institution may not be accompanied by a change in values. In addition, as the spreads within each dimension reveal, there may be disparities between the type of behavior in one institution and that in another; and, similarly, with values.

As a result, the method yielded a typology of four developmental types: (1) the MM - a person with modern values and modern behavior; (2) the MT - a person with modern values and traditional behavior; (3) the TM - an individual with traditional values and modern behavior; and (4) the TT - an individual with traditional values and traditional behavior. The MM is the more nearly modern man. The MT and the TM are transitional men. The TT is the more nearly traditional man. (Fig. 3.5)

Fig. 3.5

INDIVIDUAL POSITION IN MODERN-TRADITIONAL TYPOLOGY

		Behavior	
<u>Values</u>	Modern	Modern	Traditional
	Traditional	1	2
		3	4

It must be stressed, moreover, that the above is a typology and not an absolute index of levels of development. The small size of the sample - only 120 respondents - compelled the dichotomization of the composite ratings as either modern or traditional and, thus, precluded the application of a multi-tiered index of developmental levels - that is, an index that could distinguish not only a person with two modern behavior patterns from one with six, but also a person with one from one with three or an individual with four from one with six. In short, we must remember that the MM group is not a group of ideal type modern men; nor is the TT group, a cluster of ideal type traditional men. As a whole, the members of each group more nearly approximate their ideal type than do the rest of the sample, but within the group some may do so even more than others.²⁹

With the above qualification in mind, the typology may now be applied to the sample of relocated families. As shown in Table 3.6, the data appears to reflect the low-income, immigrant nature of Castle Square. Only slightly over 40% of the sample were MM's. On the other hand, the high level of development of the United States as a whole seems to make its presence felt as indicated by the small number of TT's.

Table 3.6

BREAKDOWN OF SAMPLE BY MODERN-TRADITIONAL TYPOLOGY

<u>Values</u>	Behavior	
	Modern	Traditional
Modern	49 41.2%	18 15.1%
Traditional	36 30.0%	16 13.0%

CLASS AND MODERNISM

As was suggested earlier, it was expected that the upper social classes in our society should tend to be at a higher level of development than the lower group. The data appear to bear out this hypothesis. (Table 3.7) The middle class tends to be more modern - that is, a far greater percentage of the middle class (71%) are MM's. At the other extreme, the underclass has the fewest people with both modern values and behavior (23%) and the most with both traditional values and behavior (32%). The number of transitional types, though considerable in each class, is substantially less in the middle class than in the lower classes. The slight reverse in the trend indicated by a percentage of MM's in the working class (40.5%) lower than that in the lower class (45.2%) would probably not be significant and might be partly a result of the effort of the class index to cut finely a fairly homogeneous universe. As noted earlier, the relatively small number of traditional people in each class would seem to be a reflection of the generally high level of development of American society as a whole.

Table 3.7
MODERNISM TYPOLOGY, by Social Class
(N= 115)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
MM	5	22.7	19	45.2	15	40.5	10	71.4
MT	4	18.2	9	19	6	16.2	0	0
TM	6	27.3	12	28.6	14	37.8	3	21.4
TT	7	31.8	3	7.1	2	5.4	1	7.1
Total	22	100	42	99.9	37	99.9	14	99.9

Yet modernism, as was expected, does not appear to be solely a class phenomenon. At each class level, modern men can be found. Thus if we invert the above table, we can see that a great percentage of the MM's are in the lower three classes. The relatively low number of MM's who are in the middle class would seem to be a reflection of the small number of middle class in the sample as a whole. (Table 3.8)

Table 3.8

SOCIAL CLASS, by Modernism Typology
(N= 115)

	MM		MT		TM		TT	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
under	5	10.2	4	22.2	6	17.1	7	53.8
lower	19	38.8	8	44.4	12	34.3	3	23.1
working	15	30.6	6	33.3	14	40.0	2	15.4
middle	10	20.4	0	0	3	8.6	1	7.7
TOTAL	49	100	18	99.9	35	100	13	100

Despite the frequent references to "working-class communities" in the earlier discussion of the relationship between modernization and renewal, the developmental approach to relocation is not a restatement of the class approach. Though the lower classes tend to be less developed than the middle class, it is the fact, as shown by the data, that the levels of development within a class may vary that has important implications for relocation. We may hypothesize that within a class, the degree of modernization of the individuals may influence their response to urban renewal and their ability to cope with reloca-

tion, and we may hypothesize further that such an approach may perhaps give some clues as to whether some groups of persons are more advantaged or disadvantaged by the process and why. In this study, then, social class is taken as the independent variable and modernism as a discriminating variable.

Discussion of the results of the study will employ these variables separately, however. Because of the small sample size, it is impossible in most cases to see how a factor (e.g., the choice of a new dwelling) is affected by both the independent and discriminating variables at the same time. At a later date, when time is more plentiful, such an attempt will nevertheless be made to see if there are any further indications to support the inferences and hypotheses that may be drawn from the data other than the trend characteristics that are the basis for the remainder of this report.

BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Six other factors were considered to be important for a study of relocated families. These included: (1) the age, (2) sex, and (3) generation of the respondent, the head of the household; (4) the size of the family - that is, whether it was "multi-member" or a single person; (5) its racial or ethnic group - for this study, the groupings being Whites, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and Chinese; (6) its urban-rural background as determined by an index based on where - city, town, or rural village or farm - the head and his father, respectively, had lived "most of their lives."³⁰ However, because of a limited amount of time, I have not yet been able to complete an analysis with these variables controlled.

Nevertheless, I have included, in Appendix IV, a series of tables denoting the relationships between the two primary variables - class and modernism - and the other six. For the most part, the six characteristics appear to be fairly well distributed among the classes and the "personality types." The high percentage (53.5%) of elderly in the lower class seems due to the fact that they probably are no longer employed but are receiving welfare and pensions. Likewise, the predominance of women in the underclass suggests the presence of a number of fatherless families whose income is derived in some degree from either welfare or pensions. The unexpected relationship between modernism and urbanism - that is, the high percentage of urban TT's and the nearly even split between urban less urban MM's - remains for the present unexplained. At any rate, the distribution of these factors tends to follow their appearance in the sample universe as a whole and with few exceptions does not seem

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THE INTERVIEWING PERIOD

Interviewing began on November 24, 1965, approximately a year and a half after the last family had left Castle Square. It was expected, therefore, that each family had had time to adjust to its new surroundings. The interview itself was standardized and required, on the average, about an hour to administer.³¹

A total number of twenty interviewers were employed for various lengths of time. One was a graduate student in social welfare, one was a high school senior, and the remainder were college students. Each one was trained for about two hours in the administration of the questionnaire. In addition, eight had had previous experience in this type of work. In the opinion of the author, despite the lack of experience and an extensive training period, the amount of interviewer-bias was small.

Many of the interviewers, in fact, were used primarily to interrogate the fifteen families who did not speak English. Chinese and Greek students conducted the survey in their respective languages. The high school student had recently arrived from Puerto Rico and provided invaluable assistance. Fortunately, students who spoke Italian and Arabic also happened to appear. On five occasions, an interpreter - in each case, another member of the family - was used.

The research design called for the interviewing of the heads of the sampled families as the person most qualified to

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discuss the family's situation. The "head of the household" was named as such in the records of the redevelopment authority. If the designated person was no longer a member of the family or was unable to be interviewed for some reason - for example, death, hospitalization, or deafness - the interviewer asked for and questioned the new head so long as he, or she, had also resided in Castle Square. Thus, for example, if a man had died, the surveyor would generally interview his widow provided she had lived with him before relocation. On the other hand, if an elderly single woman had moved in with one of her children's family and proved too deaf to be interviewed, the field worker did not seek out another member. If the desired respondent was only temporarily unavailable, at work for example, an appointment was made for a later date.

The collection of interviews was carried out primarily on Sundays and weekday evenings for a period of six weeks. On January 2, 1966, the last questionnaire was completed.

THE SAMPLE

The sample of families studied was drawn from a total universe of 541 families displaced from Castle Square. The 541 figure - 103 less than the actual total relocated - represented the number of record cards available at the BRA's South End Site Office. The other 103 were being used at another site office, and I was unable to wait for their return because of the pressure of time.

The total population was stratified into twelve groups on the basis of race, family size, and the location of their new housing. An initial distinction was made between those who had moved into public housing and those who had obtained private housing. A second cut was then made between those in private housing who had remained inside the South End and those who had gone outside. It was hypothesized that there would be a difference between these latter two groups. The final stratified cells included: white multi-member families who moved out of the South End, white "multi" families who remained inside, white "multi" families who went into public housing, and corresponding groups for white single-person families, non-white "multi's," and non-white singles. Cases were then randomly selected within each group.

A sample of about 150 households (28% of the universe) was considered desirable. The appropriate number of sample families in each of the twelve cells was determined by computing the percentage of 150 equal to the percentage of 541 represented by the total amount in each of the stratified groups. Because

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the resulting size of seven of the cells was too small to be statistically significant, an attempt was made to achieve a minimum of ten interviews in each of the seven except the "non-white, single, public" group where the maximum number available (5) was sought. To ease the difficulty anticipated in completing the large quota of interviews required by the "white-multi-outside" cell, it was decided to halve the number sought and weight those completed by two. A total of 158 interviews were finally sought.

When the interviewing had been completed, the results in the various cells indicated that there had been errors in the BRA data concerning those characteristics used originally to stratify the population. Whites, especially Puerto Ricans, had mistakenly been classified as non-whites, and, in a few cases, "multi" families had been recorded as singles and vice versa.

The discovery of these errors necessitated an attempt to construct the distribution of the twelve groups in the relocated universe on the presumption that these characteristics were more validly represented by the random sample of completed interviews. The size of the shifts between the cells in the entire universe, therefore, was computed on the basis of the changes found in the survey and the new distribution was projected. The required quotas were then recomputed on the basis of the true population. The stratified universe, the sample quotas, and the number of completed interviews are presented below. (Table 3.9)

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TABLE 3.9. THE SAMPLE

Type	Castle Square Population	%	Interview Quotas	Completed Interviews
WMO	135	24.9	37	17**
WMI	61	11.3	17	12
WMP*	31	5.7	9	10
WSO	79	14.6	22	12
WSI	87	16.1	24	13
WSP	44	8.1	12	9
NMO*	18	3.3	5	5
NMI*	29	5.4	8	8
NMP*	8	1.5	2	4
NSO*	15	2.8	4	3
NSI*	29	5.4	8	7
NSP*	5	.9	1	3
Total	541.		149	103 ** 120

Example of Sample Method:

Step (1) $\frac{135}{541} = 24.9\%$

Step (2) $24.9\% \text{ of } 150 = 37$

* Attempts for statistical significance were made here.

** The 17 WMO completions were weighted double, yielding 34 interviews. The total sample therefore was 120.

Although the figures show that 80% of the required interviews were achieved, a comparison of the number of completed questionnaires with the quota for each cell reveals the somewhat distorted reproduction of the Castle Square universe. The oversampling in the "white-multi-public," the "non-white-multi-public," and the "non-white-single-public" cells was due to the errors in classification made by the BRA and to the unsuccessful attempt to achieve statistically significant cells. The under-representation of the "white-single-outside" and "white-single-inside" groups reflects the extreme difficulties encountered in the collection of interviews among the lower classes.

In fact, the sampled population may be even less representative than these figures imply, for the total sample loss was large. In anticipation of the problems involved in trying to contact "the poor" and in interviewing in slum districts - problems that affect the discipline as a whole³²--

-- extra families were randomly selected in each group to allow substitutions to be made were they to become necessary. Thus, to complete the 103 surveys, the interviewers actually attempted to contact 270 families, a sample loss of 167, or 62%. Of these, 45 either twice refused to cooperate or terminated the interview before completion. No contact at all was the result in 32 cases, although about twelve attempts were made in each instance. Only 18 of the 62 families who had moved from their relocated address could be found. The remainder of those lost

included those who had died, left the country, or entered institutions, those who spoke no English, and those who were unable to be interviewed for some other reason - for example, deafness, illness, or drunkenness.

TABLE 3.10

SAMPLE RECORD

	<u>N</u>
Completed Interviews	103
Refusals	45
Moved without trace	44
No contact	32
Others	46
Total Sample	270

Despite its size, the sample loss does not necessarily invalidate the study presented here - that is, of the effects of relocation as an agent of social change. On the other hand, coupled with the loss of the 103 record cards, it does indicate the need for a great deal of caution in commenting about the results of the Castle Square program specifically. In other words, we may not state categorically that "this" is what happened to the people of Castle Square, but we may suggest that relocation tends to function in the fashion described below. In this regard, however, I also remind the reader of the pilot nature of this case study.

Having made the above clear, I would now submit that the completed sample may , in fact, be more nearly representative of the less transient members of the relocated population. In the first place, the majority (57%) of the people lost were single individuals who generally tend to be more mobile than the rest of the population. Secondly, nearly three-quarters (73%) of those interviewed had lived at the address from which they were displaced for more than five years.

The total sample numbered 120 households, of which 69% were multi-member families. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of the respondents - as stated earlier, the head of the household - were males. Forty per cent of those interviewed were sixty years of age or more.

The description of Castle Square above revealed the immigrant nature of the population. A majority (57.3%) of the heads, in fact, were foreign born. A variety of ethnic groups were represented. Eighteen per cent of the families were Negro and 6.7% were Chinese.

As previously disclosed, the bulk of the sample was in the lower three classes. Fully 80% of the households had incomes of less than \$6,000 a year, and a substantial number (22.7%) received welfare payments. Three-quarters (75.4%) of the respondents had less than a high school education. The majority had low status occupations. A statistical profile is provided in Appendix V.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

A final note on the method of analysis employed is in order. The data are presented only in terms of frequencies and percentages, and efforts are made to discover trends in these results. No statistical tests have been applied yet, and, in fact, their usefulness in this study may be questioned because of the small sample size.

Moreover, as stated earlier in this chapter, the discussion of the results will employ independent and discriminating variables separately because of the sample size.

1. Cf. Max Weber, "Class Status, and Party" in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953).
2. Harold M. Hodges Jr. Social Stratification: Class in America (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1964), p. 13.
3. Ibid., p. 14.
4. Cf. C.C. North and Paul Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Public Opinion News, Vol. IX (September 1947), pp. 3-13, cited in Joseph Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1957), pp. 76-77. The groupings employed are quite similar to those discovered in the study by North and Hatt. They were taken from K.H. Silvert and Frank Borilla, Education and the Social Meaning of Development: A Preliminary Statement (New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1961), multigraph 320 pp. (revised and publication expected Oct., 1966).
5. The description of the groupings presented here is not complete. For the entire list of occupations in each situs, see the codebook for Card 5, columns 16, 17 and 18.
6. See the statistical profile of the sample population in Appendix V. In regard to the first component, respondents were asked their occupations regardless of whether or not they were employed at the time of the interview.
7. United States Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Standards for Enrollment of Youth in Neighborhood Youth Corps Projects, Washington: July 8, 1965, 5 pp. mimeo, p. 2.
8. The family income categories are taken from Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man (New York: Crowell, 1964), p. 29. It is interesting to note further that if the change in the value of the dollar is taken into account, the standards of living associated with these income levels might tend to approximate those described in the Fortune survey of 1955. Cf. The Editors of Fortune, The Changing American Market (Garden City: Hanover House, 1955) cited in Kahl, op.cit., pp. 108-111.
9. The method of incorporating the three factors is found in Appendix III.
10. Because the categories for coding and recording the actual income and those for rating income in the class index were not similar, the exact breakdown cannot be given at the present time.
11. Cf. William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition, 1955) and Edgar Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent (New York: Beacon Press, 1959).
12. Herbert Gans, The Urban Villager, op.cit. Jane Jacobs, The

Classified by [redacted] on [redacted]
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$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{\rho} \right) = - \frac{1}{\rho^2} \frac{d\rho}{dt}$

Books, 1963) is also an illustration of the conflicts involved in urban renewal and planning.

13. A few include: Gans, The Urban Village, op.cit.; Gans, "Effects of the Move from City to Suburb," in Leonard J. Duhl (ed.), The Urban Condition (New York: Basic Books, 1963); Edward J. Ryan, "Personal Identity in an Urban Slum," in Duhl; Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," in Duhl; Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (1961); Michael Young and Peter Willmot, Family and Kinship in East London (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957).
 14. This discussion of modernization relies heavily upon a statement of the effects of urbanization by J. Medina Echavarría and Philip M. Hauser. "Rapporteurs' Report" in Philip M. Hauser (ed.), Urbanization in Latin America (New York: International Documents Service, 1961), pp. 47-55. Unless otherwise noted; this is the source of all material. Other useful works, however, included: Gideon Sjoberg, "Cities in Developing and in Industrial Societies: A Cross-cultural Analysis," in Philip M. Hauser and Leo Schnore (eds.), The Study of Urbanization (New York: Wiley, 1965); Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformation (Ithaca: Great Seal Books, 1953); Kalman Silvert, "The Politics of Economic Change," mimeo. 16 pp.; Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958).
- A second note is in order. This section will not be concerned with the causes of the transition from traditional to modern. For a sophisticated theory of development, see Leonard Reissman, The Urban Process: Cities in Industrial Societies (Glencoe: Free Press, 1964).
15. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958), p. 49.
 16. Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformation (Ithaca: Great Seal Books, 1953).
 17. Lerner, op.cit., pp. 70-71.
 18. Echavarría and Hauser, op.cit., p. 50.
 19. Ibid., p. 52.
 20. Ibid., p. 52.
 21. Ibid., p. 52.
 22. Ibid., pp. 53, 54.
 23. For a discussion of the relationship between class, development, and renewal, see page 45.

24. Gans, op.cit. Gans coined the phrase in the book which is part of a study of the redevelopment of the West End. The importance of the spatial community to residents of the West End has been illustrated even more effectively in the works of Marc Field, Peggy Gleicher, and Edward Ryan cited in Note #13.
25. Cf. Gans, op.cit., p. 309.
26. Echavarria and Hauser, op.cit., p. 54.
27. Cf. Silvert, op.cit., p. 6. The technique employed is a simplified adaptation of a method devised by Silvert and Reissman which is currently being used as the basis of a modernization study in Latin America. There is a more complex index exploring many facets of values and behavior relating to each institution. Questions numbered V67, B70, V71 and V76 are taken from their index.
28. Cf. Gans, op.cit., p. 54; and also Scott Greer, The Emerging City (Glencoe: Free Press, 1962).
29. The use of four modern responses as the divider between modern and traditional reflects the generally high level of development of the United States as a whole. It was designed to determine the more traditional members of a very nearly modern society. If the same measures were to be used in any other society, the same typology is useful, although finer intra-type cutting points could be made to answer to the general level of development of that particular society.
30. For the construction of the urbanism index see the code book for card 1.
31. The questionnaire and the instructions to the interviewer are included in Appendices VIII and IX.
32. Cf. Kurt W. Back, Slums, Projects, and People (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962) pp. 17 and 18.

Chapter Four

RELOCATION AS REHOUSING

The prime statutory function of relocation is the rehousing of displaced families in "decent, safe, and sanitary" dwellings. It is not inappropriate therefore to begin with an analysis of the rehousing operation. Our discussion will focus on three aspects of this task - the location of, the reasons for the selection of, and the family's opinion of the new housing.

Where did they go?

Studies of the residential patterns of cities have often noted the tendency of different groups in the population to "cluster" in more or less distinct enclaves. Duncan and Duncan, for example, have revealed that the residential location of various occupation groups tends to be associated with their income and their prestige.¹ Other studies have also distinguished areas inhabited by members of various ethnic, religious or racial groups; the most visible example is, of course, the Negro ghetto. The pattern of relocation, it was hypothesized, would tend to follow such cluster trends. It was expected, for example, that members of the middle class would move to middle class areas, and conversely, that the lower classes would enter lower class sections. Moreover, it was presumed that there would be a difference between those who left the South End and those who remained inside this familiar, low-income, entry-area community of which Castle Square had been a part. The traditional families were expected to stay inside and the moderns to move out.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

In order to test these hypotheses, the neighborhoods into which the families were relocated were classified into four types of areas. One, as indicated above, was the rest of the South End community itself, referred to often simply as "inside." This district was distinguished from other low-income areas in metropolitan Boston because of its close similarity to and communal association with Castle Square. The metropolitan area outside the South End was divided into the remaining three districts, the differences between them reflecting the degree by which they deviated from the original area. The classification was obtained by the application of a four-item index which was developed by utilizing census tracts as the boundaries of neighborhoods. The first three components of the index represented socio-economic characteristics of the population: (1) the median household income, (2) the median years of school completed by members of the population twenty-five years old or older, and (3) the Shevky-Bell index of social rank, itself based on the percentages of adults with eighth-grade education or less and the percentages (of both sexes) in the blue-collar occupations.² The fourth item was the Shevky-Bell index of urbanization/familism - the components of which are the fertility ratio, the per cent of women in the labor force, and the per cent of housing units in one-unit structures - as an indicator mainly of architectural style and the physical character of the area rather than its style of life. As Frank Sweetser explained: "If 'urbanization' is conceived as reflecting primarily the physical character of the residential area (as in the census definition of 'urbanized area,' for example), and not confused

with the concept of 'urbanism' as a 'way of life'; and if by 'familism' is meant preoccupation with child-bearing and the nurture of young children - then the index appears to be both valid and potentially useful!"³

The second type of area (Out 1), the first one outside the South End, included neighborhoods that were about the same or slightly better than Castle Square had been. They were primarily lower class districts, frequently badly deteriorated and with tenement-style housing. The next category, Out 2, reflected a modest change from the project area: it might be considered analogous to the "zone of workingmen's homes" - generally working class sections with two and three family detached dwellings in fairly sound condition. The last type, Out 3, represented a substantial change from the pre-relocation conditions; it was composed essentially of middle class, frequently suburban style districts.

When we turn to the data in Appendix VI, we see that the hypotheses appear to be borne out. Omitting those families who had moved from the address to which they had been relocated between that time and the date of the interviewing, and looking only at the remaining white families who moved into private housing at the time of relocation,⁴ we see that the relationship between social class and where families moved tends to be quite strong (Table VI.1C). Nearly all (85%) of the middle class moved into areas Out 2 or Out 3, with 62% going into the latter middle class sections. Similarly, a majority of the working class moved into these two areas with 40% entering the former working class districts. Moreover, three-quarters of the lower

class and all of the underclass relocated into the lower class areas, remaining either inside the South End or going only to Out 1 neighborhoods. The slight disruption in this otherwise very strong trend - that is, the high percentage of working class families who moved into these lower class areas - would not appear to invalidate the pattern and may in fact reflect the usefulness of low-rental housing for members of the working class who may themselves have low incomes.⁵ For example, as Gans wrote concerning the function of low-rent housing in the West End, "The low rents enable many people in the area who have never escaped the threat of work layoffs to keep their fixed housing costs low enough to survive such a layoff, and the location is within walking distance of the central business district.... Also, the minimal rents and the familiar neighbors enable the many old people in the area who retired on social security and some income from a building to maintain independent households."⁶

When the question of who moved where is pursued further, the relationship between modernism and location becomes clearly visible (Table VI. 2C). Those families characterized by modern forms of behavior tend to move out. Only 27% of the MM's and 17% of the TM's remained inside. On the contrary, as hypothesized, the traditional families tended to stay in the similar, entry-area community. Seventy-five per cent of the TT's remained inside, while of the two transitional types, 63% of the MT's - those with traditional behavior - also moved only "around the block."

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It appears therefore that our hypotheses have been validated. Moreover, we may suggest that, in line with the earlier discussion of the relationship between social class and modernism, the latter may be acting as a discriminating factor within the former. By this is meant that were the sample size such that social class could be held constant, then we would expect it to be more likely that it was those members in each class with modern behavior patterns who left the South End. Thus, for instance, the MM and TM members of the underclass may have been those who went out, while those with traditional behavior may have remained inside the South End.

In so far as renewal and relocation are concerned, there is evidence that those groups who in all likelihood should be best equipped to leave the slums on their own - the middle class, especially, and the working class somewhat less so - were able to move to the better areas of the city. On the other hand, the lowest classes - and in our case the majority of the displaced residents studied - remained in the same, or a slightly improved, type of neighborhood which they had inhabited. It appears, therefore, that they were unable to escape "slum-type" areas.⁷ Moreover, if one of the goals of urban renewal is indeed to bring the middle class back to the central city, then it may be argued that the relocation process as exhibited in this study has a latent dysfunction for the accomplishment of this goal in that the middle class here exhibits a strong tendency to move to middle class and generally suburban style areas. Although this does not necessarily mean that the middle class will leave the city limits,⁸ it does suggest, however, that those families whom

we might expect to have provided leadership and direction if they had desired and been able to remain are in fact lost to the inner community. Yet as this situation involves the operation of the entire renewal and poverty program of the city,⁹ it is described now as a possibility with implications for planners and policy-makers seeking to rebuild our cities.

Finally, to close the discussion of the new location of displaced families, relocation seems to find that those families who should be more nearly ready to enter modern American society - the MM and the transitional type with modern behavior, the TM - do leave the immigrant entry-area communities, while the traditional families, those who appear less prepared, remain. In short, one of the apparent functions of renewal and relocation is to provide those families who seem to possess the capacity to leave the slums and urban villages with the opportunity to do so.

Why did they go there?

That these were the moving patterns should not be overly surprising, for it seems that common clustering factors are acting in the distribution of relocated families. As Beshers suggested, "... there are at least three mechanisms that, operating separately or together, could result in these kinds of clustering. First, the differential distribution of income; second, the preference for similar neighbors; and third, the rejection of dissimilar neighbors."¹⁰ Although the third factor as typified by racial prejudice and Negro ghettos has not yet been analyzed here, the remaining two are relevant to our

distribution of income and the preference for similar neighbors. Income exerts strong pressure on, but is not the sole determinant of, residential location. The Duncans found that clerical workers were willing to pay excess sums of money in order to obtain a prestige location. Their findings showed that "in general, it would appear that 'social status' or prestige is more important in determining the residential association of clerical with other white-collar groups than is income, although the latter sets up a powerful cross-pressure, as evidenced by the comparatively high rent-income ratio of clerical families."¹¹ In addition, the association of modernism with location appears to suggest the influence of the desire for similar neighbors and in our case for a similar neighborhood.

Applicable to the discussion of both social class and modernism, especially, are some observations by Peter Marris.¹² In his description of what he terms "the protective subculture of the slum,"¹³ Marris states that the slum "subculture" repudiates the values and norms of the wider American society:

... it places loyalty above ambition, solidarity above competition, personal relationships above impersonal goals, openhandedness above thrift, and the enjoyment of the present above care for the future. And though it may not interpret the world more honestly than the dominant culture, it is honest about different things. Above all, while the wider society accepts that the interests of a career, even when narrowly conceived as moneymaking or the pursuit of status, may override the obligations to family or friends, the subculture does not.¹⁴

He continues that this repudiation is made only so that the residents of slums can escape the censure of the larger society,¹⁵ and that this type of community is held together

"only by its hostility to the world outside."¹⁶ Thus he concludes:

Hence when such a community is disrupted, people are bereft above all of moral support. They are likely to burrow back as fast as they can into the protective culture of the slums.¹⁷

In short, in one study it is not unlikely to expect that the different social classes would relocate into those areas inhabited by families of their same class and, similarly, that the more modern households - as we saw, behavior being the important factor here - would seek the modern areas; and the traditional families, the more traditional areas, the South End.

The discussion of the specific reasons for the choice of the new home offers some substantiation of the role of the clustering factors in relocation.¹⁸ To the query: Why did you pick this place? - a checklist of possible responses was provided (Figure 4.1). The question was an open-ended one, however, and the pre-coded alternatives were used merely to facilitate the recording of the answer. Responses were marked as unprompted if obtained without being probed and prompted, if obtained by the interviewer's reading the list of alternatives. The original intention of this two-stage question had been to distinguish between the two types, but the limited number of total responses required their combination.

In general, the categories used are self-explanatory. The "quality of the house" included any response geared specifically to the dwelling unit itself except its rental or cost features. Remarks such as "I liked the kitchen and bathroom"

Figure 4.1. REASONS FOR SELECTING NEW PLACE

Why did you pick this place?

1. the quality of the house
 2. the rent was low
 3. the cost was low
 4. a neighborhood you liked
 5. a neighborhood you were used to
 6. nearness to relatives
 7. other: _____
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or "it was big enough for our needs," or simply "I liked the apartment" were coded here. The "rent and cost were low" items referred to the ability of the family to afford the new place. The "neighborhood you liked" category included that specific comment and statements regarding features or characteristics of the neighborhood. For example, "the stores looked good here," "it was convenient; I could walk to work," or "people seemed friendly here." The categories "a neighborhood you were used to" and "nearness to relatives" pertained to those specific references.

A variety of other responses were elicited. Economic considerations other than low rents or costs - for example, the rooming house manager who took his room because the owner asked him "to run it" - were cited in a number of instances. Apartments discovered by some type of fortuitous circumstances - as in the case when the apartment "belonged to my daughter-in-law's uncle and he offered it to me" - were classified as chance knowledge situations. Also mentioned were the desire to be near friends or simply the fact that the respondent had friends in the building - coded under social relationships. The remainder of

the "other" responses included those indicating indifference and no special reason for the choice and some referring simply to the apartment's availability - for example, "it was vacant," or "I just found it," or "it was the first place I could get."

Finally, two additional types of reasons suggesting the family had "no choice" in the determination of its new dwelling were prominent. The first included statements that the BRA merely assigned it to them but made no mention of the necessity of getting out of Castle Square and the desperation of having to find a new place. "The city picked it for me" and "the BRA assigned it to us" were frequent examples. In the second situation, the respondent indicated the direness of his Castle Square predicament, that he was, in essence, forced out and the new place was the only one he could find with or without mention of the fact that the new place was assigned to him. Included in this category were such remarks as "I had to move," "I was desperate, but this had possibilities," and "I couldn't find any other place, and I had to get out."

As the data for the "free-choice" reasons suggest in Table VI. 3A, economic factors were of importance to each of the four classes, though in different degrees for each one. They were the considerations most frequently cited by the under and lower classes and appear to have been of considerable, if not the greatest, importance to members of the working and middle classes. This would seem to be in line with our statement on the pressure placed on housing preferences by family income. Yet other factors also exerted considerable influence. Generally, the percentage of respondents mentioning non-economic factors tends

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to increase with higher class standing. We may note as relevant to our former discussion¹⁹ the high incidence of middle class families who chose their place because they "liked the new neighborhood." Similarly, relative to frequency of the other reasons cited by them, the factor of liking the neighborhood seems important to the working and lower classes also.

In terms of the modernism typology (Table VI. 4A), there is a relationship between modernism and economic considerations, although it is not so strong as that between social class and economic matters. When the reasons of each type are compared with one another, moreover, the non-financial concerns seem relatively more significant to the modernism types than they were to the classes. This result would seem to follow our above hypothesis that if class was held constant, the modernism types would move to areas with inhabitants like themselves. In general, then, the importance of economic factors and the choice of neighborhoods and neighbors, for both social classes and modernism types, appears illustrated.

Yet it was the discovery that a sizable percentage of families, especially among the underclass and the MT's, felt that they had "no choice" in the selection of their new residence which was most surprising and intriguing. Although this was not the actual relocation procedure,²⁰ the fact that many felt that this was the case raised serious speculations regarding the family's perception of the relocation operation and its effects on their opinion of their new housing.

To better understand this type of perception, the reasons for selection of the new housing were reclassified according to

the general quality of the response rather than its specific content - that is, positive, neutral, and negative responses.

Positive responses were those in which all reasons were indicative of positive attributes and attractions of the new dwelling.

The neutral category included the no choice situation in which the individual felt merely that the place was assigned without mentioning the desperation of having to leave Castle Square.

It also comprised those replies indicating indifference, no special reason, or the mere availability of the apartment.

Negative reasons were those revealing that the respondent could not distinguish between the choice of a new place and the necessity of leaving the old. He "picked" the new one only because he was forced out of Castle Square and felt he had no alternative.

Finally, there was also a mixed category which was composed of statements citing positive attractions coupled with either neutral or negative sentiments.

As Table VI. 3B reveals, a large percentage of all classes did not select their new place for any quality which it might have possessed. They moved in only because they felt it was assigned to them or they had to get out of the old one anyway. Thus 29% of the middle class, 23% of the working, 33% of the lower, and a huge 66% of the underclass expressed no positive reason whatsoever - or, in other words, we might say that they felt that they had no power in the selection of their new home. To be sure, there were differences among the classes in the types of powerlessness. None of the middle class moved solely because they "were forced out," whereas about one-fifth of each of the lower classes did. However, it was the exceedingly high percentage of the underclass who felt powerless that

struck the author as needing some further exploratory investigation. One possible explanation of why these families thought the relocation operation functioned in this manner seemed quite plausible when additional findings were brought to bear on the question. For the underclass, it appeared that the feelings of powerlessness might be closely related to the type of housing into which they moved and the method by which this was done.²¹

As the figures for social class and housing tenure show (Table VI. 12), the majority (56%) of the underclass were rehoused in public housing projects. Moreover, though somewhat reflecting the above figure, the data on method of relocation reveal that more than two-thirds (68%) of the places obtained by the underclass were found for them by the BRA (Table VI. 13).²² The point is that it seems quite conceivable that many members of the underclass may have perceived these provisional offers as, in fact, assignments to which they were bound. It is possible also that the method of relocation was conducive to perceptions of powerlessness among the other three classes.

These do not appear to be the only factors at work, however. It was reasoned that the neutral and especially the negative sentiments might reflect more pervasive feelings of alienation, that is, of the lack of meaning and of opportunity in one's life in general, and thus, that such an individual might not conceive of the move as a chance to better his lot and, even worse, view it as merely another impediment. The figures regarding the relationship between alienation and class and modernism, respectively, would seem to give some credence to this argument.

The alienation index (Figure 4.2) was composed of three statements directed at eliciting feelings of lack of opportunity and meaning in life. The respondent was asked to "agree or disagree" with each remark and the responses were rated as "alienated" or "unalienated." The relationships between the first item and each of the other two were found to be uni-dimensional, and the latter two were directly related to one another. Each individual was then classified on the basis of the number of "alienated" responses: (1) two or more were considered highly alienated; (2) one was somewhat alienated; (3) none, as not at all alienated.

Figure 4.2

Alienation Index

<u>Statement</u>	<u>Alienated Response</u>
Every day may bring a rewarding and enriching experience.	Disagree
Life as most men live it is pretty meaningless.	Agree
In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse not better.	Agree

Thus, in support of the hypothesis - that the neutral and, especially, negative sentiments about the choice of housing might be reflections of more general feelings of alienation - we note, in Table VI. 14, that much more than half (65%) of the underclass were highly alienated. It does not seem impossible that this attitude may have contributed to the feelings of powerlessness expressed by the greater part of the underclass.

The data also indicate that the powerlessness phenomenon was not solely a class relationship. For three of the modernism types, the percentages citing neutral or negative responses were nearly the same, ranging from 32% of the MM's through 29% of the TM's, to 28% for the TT's, but for the MT's it was an exceedingly high 66%. More than a majority, in fact, 53% of the MT's felt that they had been "forced out."

In the case of the MT's, the role of alienation would seem even more likely than that of the other two factors. That only 20% of the one-move MT families were relocated into public housing, compared to 55% of the underclass, and that only 39% of all MT's were BRA relocated, as opposed to 68% of the underclass, would allow some acknowledgement of the influence of these two elements, but an attribution nowhere near the strength of that hypothesized for the feelings of the underclass (Tables VI. 15 and 16). On the other hand, 57% of the MT's were highly alienated and an additional 21% were somewhat alienated (Table VI. 17). These may have been more likely to conceive of the move in a negative way.

It appears, therefore, that three factors - the method of relocation, the type of housing, and alienation - may be contributing to powerless feelings. Carried further, however, our analysis also suggests that these may in fact be acting in different ways. There is a difference in the types of powerlessness expressed by members of the underclass and those of the MT group. Though a like percentage (66%) of each group felt this way, 44% of the underclass stated neutral reasons, and only 22% mentioned negative reasons, whereas 53% of the MT's cited

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negative factors, and only 13% elicited neutral ones. It might be argued, therefore, that the type of new housing and the method of relocation are more closely related to neutral responses and that modernism and alienation are more nearly associated with negative feelings. Thus, recalling our earlier hypothesis that modernism was a discriminating variable operating within social class, we can suggest that it might be the type of new housing and the manner in which it was secured, especially, that tended to account for many of the neutral perceptions of the social classes, and that it might be the MT's and other alienated individuals among the social classes that tended to offer the negative reasons. Thus, the bulk of powerless feelings among the underclass might be attributed more to the type and method of rehousing than to the modernism and alienation, as suggested earlier. Some verification for this explanation would also seem forthcoming from the fact that, whereas 29% of the middle class made neutral responses and none made a negative one, 36% of the middle class was placed in BRA-located units, but only 14% were alienated and none were in the MT group.

Thus far, our discussion has centered on an analysis of the data for a possible explanation of why some families perceive the relocation operation to be beyond their control, but it has left untouched the question of the effects of such perceptions on the family's opinion of their new home. It was hypothesized that those families who felt powerless in their choice, especially those who expressed negative reasons, would tend to have less favorable views than those who had expressed some positive factor. As the discussion below will show, this hypothesis appears, in the main, to be validated.

The New Home

The technique employed for this part of the analysis was an adaptation of the Self-Anchoring Striving Scale developed by Hadley Cantril of the Institute for International Social Research. "A Self-Anchoring Scale is a means for getting a person to define, on the basis of his own assumptions, perceptions, goals, and values, the two extremes, or anchoring points, of the spectrum on which scale measurement is desired (e.g., the 'top' and the 'bottom,' the 'good' and the 'bad,' the 'best' and the 'worst'), then to employ this self-defined continuum as a measuring device."²³ It is a method, in other words, which seems "to elicit from the respondent just what it is he is striving for in life (or in whatever particular aspect of life to which the questions are directed) and how successful he feels he is in the realization of his ends."²⁴ As adapted for housing, specifically, the respondent was asked to describe what his ideal living place, in effect his dream house, would be like:

What would be the ideal kind of place you'd want to live in - your dream place?

He was then asked the opposite:

Now, taking the other side of the picture, what would be the worst place you'd want to live in?

After describing his conceptions of what would be the ideal and worst housing conditions for him and his family, the respondent ranked his present and Castle Square housing on an eleven-step ladder which was, in effect, "anchored" at the top by his

conception of dream house and at the bottom by his worst housing situation:

Now, here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say the top represents your dream place and the bottom the worst place you'd want to live in.

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- A. Where on the ladder do you feel you are now?
- B. Where on the ladder do you feel you were before relocation?

In this way, we felt that we could ascertain a rating of the family's new housing and the Castle Square housing in its own terms, drawn against the baselines of its conceptions on its ideal and worst possible situations. Moreover, as Cantril Jr. wrote: "The ladder ratings as well as the anchoring points are the respondent's own creations. Individuals can thus be compared directly to one another without reference to predetermined categories of response."²⁵

In addition to the self-anchoring housing scale, the respondent was asked later a specific question on how his present neighborhood compared with Castle Square. This was done because

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the importance of the neighborhood itself has often been stressed in previous studies.²⁶

The analysis of the housing desires has not been completed as yet, but enough is available so that it may be offered here as a guide for the discussion of ratings. Although responses to both ideal and worst situation queries were recorded and coded with great attention to the details of the answers - for example, a statement might be coded according to the type of neighborhood, the kind of heating, the architectural style, and the cost of the dwelling - they are presented here in the form of a typology based on the dominant characteristic of the total response in order to simplify a comparison of the groups: Luxury desires were those which stress details of swankness or extravagance in the home or apartment which would involve quite a bit of money and expenses. It included, for example, the statements "a luxury apartment" and "a modern house with every convenience, four bathrooms, and a fancy kitchen." Modest desires were considered to be those in which the respondent wanted a modest house, with moderately extensive facilities and conveniences, the modernness and sound quality of which had to be stressed. Answers frequently reflected the desire for a suburban location, for home ownership, and a place "good for the children." "My own house - not fancy, but mine," and "a single house with a good kitchen and places for the children to play" were coded in the modest category. Basic desires were those in which the household head wanted only decent conditions and basic sanitation features and facilities. Generally few specific wishes were

expressed, and those that were indicated a preference for only minimal improvement. It included a simple request for "a place with good heat," "one near work," "a first floor apartment," or "what I can afford."²⁷

The simplified typology of total responses to the housing desires question is to be found in Table VI. 5. In general, the findings would seem in line with those of other authors concerned with social class regarding the tendency of the upper classes to have broader horizons and a greater awareness of opportunities - and concomitantly a better chance to achieve them - than do the "underdogs."²⁸ Again, social class seems to make some "difference" in the type and degree of desires, albeit in one case an inverse relationship. The middle class tends to be more inclined to have wishes and conceptions of a dream house than do the lower classes; and, similarly, the working class, though less so than the middle, was more inclined to have wishes than the remaining two classes. Thus, all of the middle class expressed some dream hopes, whereas 11% of the working, 23% of the lower, and 24% of the under expressed none at all.

In terms of the types of desires actually stated, there seem to be no outstanding differences among the classes other than the inverse one that nearly one-fifth (19%) of the underclass expressed hoped for luxury housing. Possibly this fact might be attributable to some form of "dream escapism," or in other words the wish for something in all likelihood unobtainable by any member of the underclass in order to compensate for feelings of low status. But this question is not our concern.

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In so far as modernism is concerned - and these figures are not offered to explain differences among the classes but, again, merely as a baseline - there seems to be no relationship between this variable and housing desires. Only the small percentage (19%) of the TT's with modest desires and the small percentage (25%) of MT's with basic desires, which for the present remain unexplained, stand out.

In fact, it was the over-all similarity and moderateness of the housing desires expressed by the various social classes and modernism groups that was outstanding. For the most part, no one desired or set as his ideal standard an idyllic "castle in the sky." This moderateness suggests, for the discussion of housing ladder ratings below, that very low ratings would not necessarily be the result of exceptionally high ideals. Likewise, the general similarity suggests that differences between the ladder ratings of the different classes and groups would not necessarily be a reflection of their having vastly different standards and ideals.

Prior to beginning the analysis of the perceptions of the actual rehousing, let me note again in the way of a baseline for our discussion, that the great majority of all classes and all modernism types were relocated into standard housing as classified by the interviewer.²⁹ The criteria employed were those currently used by the BRA in their present operations and generally call for a sound physical structure of sufficient size with adequate facilities and utilities within the financial means of the family.³⁰ We can see in Tables VI. 18 and 19 that 75% or

more of all classes and modernism types were relocated into standard housing as determined by external, professional criteria. This result when compared to the earlier stated fact that only 8% of the housing in Castle Square was adjudged in sound physical condition by the 1960 Census would seem to suggest that a great deal of improvement in the housing of the families occurred. However, in the opinions of - and thus I would presume according to the standards of - the relocated themselves, rehousing appears to have been a much more complex and varied operation than the above comparison portends.

It appears, as we read the data in Table VI. 7, that there is a definite relationship between social class and the quality of the new housing as perceived by the families themselves. It was hypothesized that the middle class would fare better in the rehousing operation than the "bottom" three classes, and this seems to be upheld. In general, the middle class show improvement in their housing situation. They tend to rank their new dwelling much higher than the one in Castle Square. Thus, the mean rating of the pre-relocation dwelling was only 4.9, as compared to a mean rating of 6.6 for the new place. Moreover, in terms of percentage shifts, although 57% of the middle felt there was no change in their housing, 43% thought it had improved, and no one considered it worse. Finally, that 79% thought that the neighborhood itself was better than Castle Square leads one to infer that the new unit itself was not considered much better than the previous one but that the neighborhood was. In short, it appears that the middle class may have moved into better areas - as the locational data cited

earlier would suggest - but not necessarily into better apartments and houses.

For the "bottom" three classes taken together, the results of the rehousing operation do not seem to have been the same.³¹ They viewed their homes in Castle Square in about the same or slightly brighter light than did the middle class, but the rating for their new homes revealed no improvement, and perhaps a slight decline in their housing situation.³² The Lower Three's mean ladder rating of their pre-relocation homes (5.1) dipped a bit to 4.9 for the post-relocation dwelling. Percentage-wise (although it might be pointed out that only 9% fewer of the Lower Three felt that they had moved into better housing than did the middle class), it was the facts that only 22% found their new place to be as good as Castle Square and nearly half (44%) found it to be worse that illustrate the lack of rehousing success experienced by the Lower Three, in "perception" terms at least. Thus the hypothesis that the middle class should fare better than the "bottom" three classes does appear to be substantiated.

Now, when we reconstitute the collapsed grouping of the Lower Three, differences do appear in the perceptions of housing results among them. Comparison of the mean ladder ratings shows that the underclass thought their new housing (4.2) to be about the same or slightly worse than the old (4.5), and that the working class thought it was about the same or better - 4.7 for the present compared to 4.6 for the past. The lower class, though rating the new housing higher (5.3) than the other two, did not think that it was as good as Castle Square (5.9).

Moreover, although about the same percentage (from 40 to 46%) of each of the "bottom" three classes felt the present housing to be inferior to Castle Square, the underclass contained the greatest percentage (50%) feeling it was better, and the lower class had the fewest, only 22%. Fewer of the working class (39%) than the underclass believed they had gotten improved housing, although the comparison of mean ratings would suggest that results should have been the opposite.³³ Thus, although one might have expected a one-to-one direct relationship between class standing and improved housing - that is, the higher the class standing, the higher the "perceptions" of relocated dwellings - this does not seem to be the case.

Turning for a moment to the specific comparison of neighborhoods,³⁴ we see that a much greater percentage of the middle class felt that they had moved to better neighborhoods than did the other three classes, as the figures on actual location cited above should have led us to expect. Moreover, if we might be allowed to speculate on the situation of the "bottom" three classes by comparing the figures relating to neighborhoods only with those on the broader self-anchoring housing scale, it would appear that working and lower classes tended to feel that they were in better neighborhoods but not necessarily better housing units, and that for the underclass it might be the reverse. However, further analysis must be undertaken before these speculations can be more than suggestions.

Yet on the housing ladder, it was the fact that there were differences among the "bottom" three classes and,

especially, that there was not even a majority of any class which thought their new housing was better than that in Castle Square that led to further probing. The prime discriminating variable, modernism, appears to shed little light on the question (Table VI.8). Originally, it was hypothesized that there would not necessarily be any relationship between the quality of the rehousing and modernism other than that suggested by the actual location of the new homes and powerlessness feelings. Thus, although a comparison of the mean ladder ratings for the MM's and the TM's suggests that the results for each group differed, the percentage shifts are almost the same and nearly evenly divided between those with higher ratings and those with lower ratings. The neighborhood comparisons are also quite similar, and the large percentages in better neighborhoods would seem possibly to reflect the moving patterns. The large difference in mean ratings for the TT's - from 4.0 for Castle Square to 5.7 for the present - would appear to mark a sharp improvement in housing. The percentage changes for the housing ladder - 50% rating the new higher - and for the neighborhoods specifically - 50% rating the new area worse - suggests a situation similar to that of the underclass - that is, better units in worse neighborhoods. This result, however, might be a reflection of the high percentage of TT's who are members of the underclass (54%), as much as a consequence of the large number of TT's who remained inside the South End slum area (56%) and the low rating given to their Castle Square housing.

The evenness of the results for the MM and TM groups and the uncertainty which surrounds those for the TT's appears

to cast doubt, at least for the present, on the effectiveness of modernism to explain the rehousing operation and to support the hypothesis of "no relationship." However, the data for the MT group do in fact seem useful. The marked drop in ladder ratings - from 6.2 for Castle Square to 4.8 for the present housing - as well as the concomitant large majority (61%) to whom the new place was worse suggests the sharp decline in housing quality perceived by the group. This negative effect of relocation is in fact the beginning of a trend of such feelings for the MT group which is broken only by the results for the specific comparison of neighborhoods.³⁵ Moreover, this high percentage of MT's who perceived a worsening of their housing situation would appear to support our earlier hypothesis on the effects of negative feelings of powerlessness on perceptions of new housing.³⁶ It will be noted that it is the MT's, a highly alienated group, the majority of whom had chosen their new place only because they were forced out of the old, that included the highest percentage of people feeling the new place was worse than the old. On the other hand, half of the underclass, the other group which exhibited a large degree of powerlessness but of the "neutral" kind, thought the new housing was better than Castle Square. Thus, one might speculate that negative reasons for the selection of the new place brought on by modernism type and alienation possibly are conducive to low ratings of the place, whereas neutral responses, possibly the result of the method and type of rehousing, are not necessarily so related. Therefore, it appears that if a person feels the place is assigned, he may still think it an improvement over the preceding unit; but if he feels

compelled to leave, the chances of this are less.³⁷ Moreover, we can further suggest that one of the factors contributing to the perceptions of worsened housing by the "bottom" three classes might be the presence of MT's within these groups.

The factor which was found to be more highly related to the rehousing results than the others was the feelings the family might have had, before redevelopment was announced, regarding the possibility of moving out of Castle Square. Those who were "planning to move out" or were "thinking about it but never got around to it" were in the category "intend to move," as opposed to those who were "planning to stay on" in Castle Square. Thus, as the data in Table VI.10 show, those families who were predisposed to move tend to think their new housing is much better than the old, whereas those who wanted to remain tend to feel it is worse. The mean ladder ratings of those intending to leave Castle Square rose nearly two rungs from a very low 3.3 for the old place to 5.2 for the present one, while, on the other hand, the ratings of families planning to stay declined slightly from a mean of 5.6 to a mean of 5.1. Moreover, in percentage terms, more than a majority (54%) of the first type thought the new place was better than that in Castle Square, and only 15% thought it was worse. These figures differ markedly from the corresponding ones for the latter group of whom less than a third (30%) felt they had found improved housing, and nearly half felt themselves to be in worsened situations. Likewise, a much greater percentage of those predisposed to move (70%) felt they were in better neighborhoods than did those wanting to stay (43%). It appears, therefore, that those who intended to leave

Castle Square tend to feel that they have benefited from relocation in so far as housing is concerned, while those who planned to remain do not necessarily have this attitude.

Furthermore, this factor may explain, in part (Table VI.9), the differences in rehousing feelings among the "bottom" three classes. It may have been the presence of a higher percentage of those intending to move prior to redevelopment among the underclass (36%), and among the working class (24%), that accounted for the higher percentages of these classes than that of the lower class, who felt that they had obtained better housing. Noting the strength of the relationship between feelings of better or similar housing and moving intentions, we may speculate that those who were predisposed to leave might think the new housing was an improvement regardless of their class standing.

Finally, the apparent "objectivity" of the housing ratings must be mentioned. By "objectivity" we mean that those families who moved into areas which we have classified on the basis of external standards as much better than Castle Square and which, therefore, we would expect to have improved dwelling facilities, did indeed tend to consider their new home as better. Thus, from the data in Table VI.11, it will be noted that mean ratings for those who relocated into Out 3 areas increased three points from a low 3.6 to a high 6.6, whereas the mean for Out 2 families stayed the same, and those for the Out 1 and Inside South End families declined. The percentage shifts, too, differ strikingly according to location. Nearly three-quarters (71%) of those families in Out 3 neighborhoods considered the new place

an improvement, and none thought it was worse, as opposed to the more evenly divided families in Out 2 areas, of whom 41% thought it was better and 38% worse, and the sharply contrasting results in both Out 1 neighborhoods and Inside the South End, where in each area only about a quarter of the families found improved dwellings and nearly half thought their condition had worsened. Likewise, the data for the specific neighborhood comparison appears to be "objective."

The "objectivity" of housing opinions leads us to advance the proposition that, possibly, unless the move results in a marked improvement in housing condition (the shift, for example, from a dilapidated three-story slum tenement to a modern ranch house in a tree-lined suburban neighborhood), the move may not be perceived as an opportunity for advantageous change, and the new housing may not be viewed as better even though it may well be if judged according to professional criteria. Thus, a move from a substandard apartment in a lower class area to a standard one in a working class section which may be seen as an improvement by professionals may not necessarily be perceived as such by the family involved. This proposition may in fact partly explain the large differences between the mean Castle Square housing ratings for those groups who tended to feel the most improvement from moving - that is, those who had intended to leave before redevelopment and those who moved to Out 3 areas, and their respective counterparts. Thus, the "predisposed" and the "Out 3" families may have tended to denigrate the old housing somewhat relative to the new dwelling, whereas the other families may have idealized it to some degree relative to the new place.

In so far as the operation of relocation in the urban renewal process as a factor of social change is concerned, it would seem evident from the above discussion that a prime function of relocation, in the case studied, was to provide those families who were predisposed to move before redevelopment came with opportunity to do so. Relocation appears primarily to have aided these families to obtain better housing conditions.

In the more general terms of social class, it appears that the middle class, those families whom we would expect to be best able to leave the slums on their own, whether or not they had actually intended to leave Castle Square prior to renewal, tended to fare better in the rehousing operation than did others probably not so able. The middle class for the most part moved into the better areas of the metropolitan community. Almost all obtained "decent, safe and sanitary" standard housing, nearly half of which was judged by the occupants themselves to be better than their previous residences in Castle Square. Yet the majority of the middle class felt their new place was only about the same as their pre-relocation address.

An even greater majority of the "bottom" three classes did not perceive relocation to have resulted in better housing conditions, although the vast proportion of them obtained standard housing according to professional criteria. In view of this majority opinion and in view of the fact that a majority moved into neighborhoods, by our criteria, only about the same or slightly better than the Castle Square area, the degree of

improvement in housing experienced by the "bottom" three classes is open to question.

In sum, then, it appears that there may not have been such a marked improvement in housing as the comparison of housing situations according to professional criteria would suggest. Although fully 85% of all the displaced families were relocated into "standard housing," a sizable majority felt that this housing was worse or only about as good as their pre-relocation Castle Square residence.

This conclusion is not necessarily to say that renewal and relocation were failures and did not "clear slums." In the first place, it would be remiss to make such a judgment without a comprehensive view of the urban renewal and war on poverty programs of the city in order to see the role of this project in the entire attack on slums and urban blight.³⁸ Secondly, it can be argued that, in view of the scope of the problems of slum clearance and the task of revivifying our cities, the facts that the opportunity to leave the slums was given to some families, and many, including a third of the "bottom" three classes, did obtain improved housing represent no small achievement. The resolution of this argument, however, is a question of policy involving many other considerations and is therefore not our concern.

What the conclusion does suggest, though, is that the planners' and policy-makers' conception of "decent, safe, and sanitary" housing as the desired and adequate rehousing resource may, in fact, be insufficient. What seems necessary as the goal

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of rehousing is standard housing of a sufficiently attractive quality that it is perceived by the displaced family as better than its previous home so that the move is seen as an opportunity for, not an impediment to, improvement. No doubt this would involve increased costs, but it seems a necessary further step toward satisfying the desires of and alleviating the plight of the displaced in order to secure the goal of a "decent home for every American."

Chapter 4 - NOTES

1. Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 60 (March 1955), p. 493. Cited in James M. Beshers, ed., Urban Social Structure (Glencoe: Free Press, 1962), p. 96.
2. The neighborhood classification index is overweighted by the use of both the median years of education figure and the Shevky-Bell Index of social rank. However, I do not feel it has been greatly distorted by their simultaneous inclusion. The items, though related, do not in fact provide the same information. The Shevky-Bell educational percentage complements the median years figure but does not duplicate it.
3. Frank Sweetser, The Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston, 1960 (Boston: Massachusetts Department of Mental Health), pp. 64-65. The neighborhood classification index is based on the analysis of the 1960 census data and the groupings of population characteristics in this study.
 For another statement on the validity of the urbanization/familism component, see Bishers, op.cit.
 The complete method used in the index will be presented at a later date.
4. This was done in order to control for the strong influence of race and the occasional distortions caused by the location of pockets of low-income public housing in working and middle class districts.
5. Cf. Gans, op.cit., p. 315.
6. Herbert Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," mimeo reprint from The Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. xxv, No. 1 (1959), pp. 5-6.
7. "Slum-type" areas refers to areas which might possibly be slums.
8. The degree to which this situation occurs and the middle class do leave the city limits may depend, for one, purely on the amount and size of middle class suburban style districts within the territorial boundaries of the city proper.
 This situation also has definite implications for the economic structure of the city and for any effort to restore the city's tax base.
9. One factor, for example, is the degree to which former residents return and the suburban middle class move to the newly developed area.
10. Beshers, op.cit., p.102.

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11. Duncan and Duncan, op.cit., pp. 502-503; as cited in Beshers, op.cit., p. 97.
12. Peter Morris, "A Report on Urban Renewal in the United States," in Leonard J. Duhl, ed., The Urban Condition (New York: Basic Books, 1963), pp. 113-134.
13. To this author, the description which Morris offers appears to resemble more nearly the value and behavior system of more traditional, lower-than-middle-class areas.
14. Morris, op.cit., pp. 126-127.
15. "They can only protect themselves against a sense of failure and inferiority by denying that the opportunity (for success) is open, and by decrying the rewards for which the more hopeful compete." Morris, op.cit., pp. 124-125.
16. Ibid., p. 127.
17. Ibid., p. 127. Though this author would now disagree with the categorical and single factor explanations for both the repudiation and the integration of such communities, Morris' over-all conclusion is pertinent to this study.
18. Again, we will look only at "one-move" families.
19. See pp. 65-66.
20. No family was in fact forced to take a particular place offered to them. Each family made the decision among a number of options that may, or may not, have been found for them by the BRA.
21. Three types of housing were generally available to the displaced families: private sales, private rental, and public housing. The procedure for securing an apartment in a public housing project in Boston requires the family to apply for admission to public housing generally, expressing only a preference, rather than making a direct attempt, for a specific project. A suitable vacancy, when available, is then offered to the family who always maintains the right to accept or decline the offer without prejudice. It is not an "either this or nothing" operation.

The methods of relocation can be grossly classified into two types. In short, we have a distinction between those who found a place themselves and those for whom one was found and offered by the formal relocation agency. The BRA encouraged all residents to find new homes by their own effort or with the aid of friends, relatives, realtors, and the like. All who secured homes in this way were considered to be self-relocated. On the other hand, the authority itself conducted an extensive search for available units which were then referred to desirous families, who again retained the option to accept or to decline. Families

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

3. The third part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

4. The fourth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

5. The fifth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

6. The sixth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

7. The seventh part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

8. The eighth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

9. The ninth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

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12. The twelfth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1900. It contains a report on the progress of the work of the Department of State during the year 1899.

who obtained housing from this source were called BRA-relocated. Because public housing was obtained from a formal agency source, that is, the Boston Housing Authority, acting in cooperation with the BRA, families housed in projects were grouped with this latter type.

22. Though Table VI. 13. refers to all the displaced, not merely the "one-move" families, the discussion is still valid. The removal of the eighteen multiple-move families did not disturb the relationship, but these figures were not available at the time of writing.
23. Hadley Cantril and Floyd A. Free, "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," Supplement to the American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. VI, No. 2 (October 1962), p. 8. For a more detailed presentation of the Self-Anchoring Striving Scale, see Hadley Cantril, The Patterns of Human Concern (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1965).
24. Albert Cantril Jr., "The Indian Perception of the Sino-Indian Border Clash," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 28 (Summer 1964), pp. 233-234. Parentheses mine.
25. Ibid., p. 235.
26. Cf. Chapter 3, note #13, p. 58.
27. There was also a fourth category which included three types of respondents who expressed no wishes at all for a dream place. First, there were those who desired no improvement at all because they were satisfied with what they had. Secondly, there were those who were realistic about their housing and wanted nothing because they felt the present housing situation was the best for them in their present condition. Finally, there were those who were resigned to their situation or refused to dream at all because of "age" or because "you've got to be satisfied with what you have."
28. Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," in R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status, and Power (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953), pp. 255-263.
29. It will be noted that we are now discussing all relocated families, not only the "one-move" types. We are including those who had moved again since the original relocation and are considering their present address in our discussion.
30. The standards themselves are set forth in detail in Appendix 10. The interviewers used only the physical criteria and did not incorporate the income features in the determination of their rating. Despite this omission and the lack of housing investigation experience among the field workers, the classification seems both valid and reliable.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
2. second of these is the fact that the
3. third of these is the fact that the
4. fourth of these is the fact that the
5. fifth of these is the fact that the
6. sixth of these is the fact that the
7. seventh of these is the fact that the
8. eighth of these is the fact that the
9. ninth of these is the fact that the
10. tenth of these is the fact that the

16	18 and 19, reference	17
18	Vol. 10, photograph of	19
	1900-1901, 1902, 1903	20

31. This single grouping of the "bottom" three classes will hereinafter be referred to as the Lower Three. This grouping was made by the author in order to highlight the comparison between the housing results for the middle class and the other classes. It was also done because there did not appear to be much difference in the type of housing which the "bottom" three classes could afford at their income levels, for - as will be recalled from the construction of class index - the distinctions drawn between them were quite fine.
32. A note is in order regarding the interpretation of differences in mean ladder ratings. As statistical tests have not yet been performed on the differences between mean ladder ratings, it is not known whether small differences - such as in this case .2 - are in fact significant. Care must also be exercised in interpreting differences in mean ratings for groups with a small number of respondents.
33. Again we have the question of the significance of difference and the effect of the small sample on the mean ratings.
34. Is (this neighborhood) better, worse, or about as good as Castle Square?
35. The reason for this remains for the present unexplored.
36. See p. 75.
37. We may speculate, therefore, that it would not necessarily be harmful to the relocation operation if agency efforts to find places for families are stepped up rather than great emphasis being placed on self-relocation as the desired method. Moreover, it may be a positive gain, for it may be that many families expect this type of active assistance from the agency and that unless they are "provided with a new place" they would feel the agency has not fulfilled its obligation to them. A future analysis of family satisfaction with the relocation procedure may shed some light on these suggestions.
38. This point would be well taken by those who would assess the operation of urban renewal. Much of the criticism of renewal has come from studies of individual projects or from those using national statistics compiled on a project-by-project basis. In this way the researcher falls victim to the very disease of "projectitis," which may itself be a valid criticism of renewal in some cities. A more valid and fruitful approach, in the opinion of this author, is one that would use as its base of analysis an individual city (or appropriate governmental area) and would undertake a comprehensive review of all the projects in its renewal and poverty programs in order to see whether and/or how

they interrelate toward the social and physical rebuilding of the entire city. One project is unlikely to "cure slums," and so if the projects of a city are viewed in conjunction with one another, one might be able to assess the city's success in its battle against urban blight. A nationwide assessment might then be made on a city-by-city basis. The reader is also reminded that we are not intending to pass judgment on the Castle Square relocation operation per se, for it will be remembered from Chapter 3 that the methodological limitations of the sample preclude such an action.

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL CONSEQUENCES OF RELOCATION

The clearance of slums and improvement of urban neighborhoods requires more than the physical building of the city and the mere rehousing of families into vermin-free, bathroom-available units. It faces the challenge of asynchronous modernization, of dealing with many families at different levels of development. It also involves welfare problems such as home management, undereducation, and unemployment, to name just a few. Aware of these latter welfare needs, relocation agencies, as we stated earlier, endeavor to provide social services and other related aid to those families who are found to need such help when "uncovered by the renewal bulldozer." In this way, relocation attempts to offer these families the opportunity to obtain not only a new and better home but also many other improvements over a wide range of areas in order to achieve a better life and higher standard of living.

On the other hand, an increasing number of studies have noted the highly disruptive and devastating impact caused by forced dislocation from an urban slum. Much stress has been placed on the deep feelings of grief and strong sense of loss experienced by relocated slum area families when their neighborhood was razed and their friends scattered. Among some of those interviewed, it was even rumored that two or three had died because "their home had been taken away". It is evident

that the effects of forced dislocation and relocation can be wide and varied. Relocation goes beyond simply new living quarters and probably its most important impact is on general life style.

To investigate these broader consequences of the move from Castle Square, a multi-faceted approach was employed. The prime component was the actual Self-Anchoring Striving Scale developed by Cantril and modified only slightly for the present research. As described in the previous chapter, the scale is a unique device which attempts to ascertain just what the individual wants in life and how successful he feels he is in reaching his goal. The respondent was asked to describe the desires and dreams embodied in the best possible life for him:

All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about that really matters in your life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In other words, if you could imagine your future in the best possible light, what would your life look like then, if you are to be happy?

He was then asked the converse:

Now taking the other side of the picture, what are your fears and worries about the future? In other words, if you could imagine your future in the worst possible light, what would your life be like then?

As they did in the case of housing ladder, these conceptions served as the "anchoring" points for the eleven-rung ladder, symbolic of "the ladder of life", upon which the individual was then asked to state

where he stands today, where he stood in the past, that is Castle Square, and where he thinks he will stand in the future.¹

Again we have a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life for you....

- a. Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?
- b. Where on the ladder would you say you stood three years ago?
- c. Where on the ladder do you think you will be three years from now?

It was hoped that through the use of this scale, we could obtain a feeling of the individual's total life situation and the quality of change in it since his move from Castle Square. It was hoped that we could compare individuals on the degree to which they think they had achieved their goals.

The ladder question is geared, then, toward the determination of the overall quality of life before and after relocation. To be sure, from this there is no way of stating categorically that relocation was the cause of the situations in which we found our respondents. No doubt, after three years other factors may have come into play. Toward overcoming the difficulty and to complement the generally-worded approach of the Self Anchoring Striving Scale, two questions which referred to Castle Square and relocation in specific language were also asked. In terms of the amount of change, a perceptive "quantitative" question

was asked:

Has your life changed in any way since moving from Castle Square? Would you say:

1. in almost every way?
2. in many ways?
3. in a few ways?
4. hardly at all?

The second was a "qualitative" one which sought to elicit a comparative rating between the respondent's present and Castle Square styles of life:

All in all are you better off here or in Castle Square? Would you say you are:

1. better off here?
2. same for us in both places?
3. somethings better, somethings worse?
4. slightly better off in Castle Square?
5. much better off in Castle Square?

The alternatives for the latter question were trichotomized for purposes of analysis into the categories: better off here (#1), about the same (#2 and #3), and better off in Castle Square (#4 and #5).

In addition, specific questions were also asked pertaining to certain areas of life and the changes within these. The respondent was asked explicitly what he missed about leaving Castle Square and about any changes effected by relocation in his relations with his family, friends, and relatives, or in his health, work, or financial situations.

BEFORE AND AFTER: A Comparison

The data show that the consequences of forced dislocation were no less varied than expected. As shown in Table VII.1B, the number of families with each possible experience was substantial. Many (39%) thought life had improved; many (27%) thought it had worsened and many (34%) thought it was the same.

Yet, as was the case with housing, it is evident that there is a definite relationship between social class and, what we will call, "general life situation". It was expected that the middle class would fare better in the relocation operation than the "bottom" three classes, that is to say that they would profit more by it or at least not be hurt as much by it. This hypothesis seems valid. As the data in Table VII.1A and B indicate, the middle class tended to feel their present situation to be better than their Castle Square position. Thus, although the mean rating of life before relocation was a high 6.6, the rating of the new situation was more than a full step higher, 7.9. On the other hand, although the Castle Square mean rating of each of the "bottom" three classes was lower than that of the middle class - 5.3 for the underclass, 5.2 for the lower, and 5.1 for the working - the present ratings of each declined to 4.95, 4.8, and 4.3 for each respectively. Again, in percentage terms, the middle class tends to do better. The majority (57%) of the middle class thought that their lives were better now, and

the remainder thought there had been no change. None of the middle class felt that "things" had become worse in the three years since displacement. In sharp contrast to this, a substantial portion of each of the "bottom" three classes - about 30% of each - believed their general life situations were not as good as they had been in Castle Square.. In addition substantially fewer members of these three classes, compared to the number of middle class families - 42% of the under, 42% of the lower, and 27% of the working - felt that their lives had improved during the three years.

In short then, substantial numbers experienced each of the three possible results - improvement, no change, or worsening. It appears that the middle class, that group which we would expect to have the resources - jobs, some education, and a decent income - to meet the exigencies of the displacement situation, tends to fare better than the lower classes. On the other hand, although a very sizeable percentage of each of the "bottom" three classes - the groups who would most likely need the services relocation can bring - feel better off now, the majority in these classes experienced no change or even a worsening of their life situation. It seems that the move from Castle Square benefitted many families, especially among the middle class, but those hurt were among the "bottom" three classes.

In terms of modernism, the consequences of relocation also varied widely. In the discussion of the tradition - modernism dichotomy in Chapter 3, it was hypothesized that relocation would have less deleterious consequences for more modern individuals than traditional ones for we would expect the former to be more able to cope with displacement and change. For the most part this theory seems to be borne out. There is no direct relationship between levels of development and "general life consequences", but there is a tendency for the more modern families to fare better than the others. Specifically, those with modern behavior, regardless of values, tended to fare better. Although a comparison of mean ladder ratings does not indicate this trend clearly, the percentage shifts do (Table VII.6A and B). Thus, although the ratings for the group with modern values and traditional behavior (MT) shows a sharp decline from a past 5.9 to a present 4.5, and the ratings for the TT's reveal a very slight decline from 5.1 to 5.0, and although those for the TM's show a slight rise from 5.2 to 5.5, the figures for the MM's decline from 5.4 to 5.1. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the TM's tended to fare better than the MM's - 56% of the TM's feeling improvement and only 14% worsening as compared with 40% and 27% of the MM's in the respective categories - the results for these two groups were generally better than for those with

traditional behavior. The majority of the TT's (57%) thought their situation was the same as that in Castle Square, an additional 27% thought it was worse, and only 21% thought it had improved. Even more marked were the results for the MT's. Only 13% achieved an improved position while the majority (56%) felt their lives were generally worse than they had been before relocation.

Exactly why there should be this reversal in expected outcomes between the transitional level MT's and the TT's is unclear. Possibly it was because the MT's may have seen relocation as an opportunity to achieve certain of the things they valued but were unable to behave in such a way as to achieve these goals. Possibly it reflects a general negativism on the part of the MT's who as we saw earlier, tended to be highly alienated. Or perhaps it may have been because the TT's were in fact more inclined to change than were the MT's.

Up until now, we have omitted from our discussion and our institutional modernism index has not incorporated this important facet of modernism, that is the acceptance of change. Respondents were asked two questions related to their feelings about change. At the societal level, the respondent was asked to choose one of the following alternatives:

In this modern world,

1. All things should still have their proper place? or
2. The constant changes will bring progress?

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The latter alternative (2) was considered to be indicative of an inclination toward change and was weighted one (1); the former was weighted zero (0). The individual-level query consisted of a pair of questions. The individual was asked first:

Do you like:

1. to try new things?
- or
2. to keep on doing what you've always done?

If the individual replied with the second phrase, the answer was scored zero (0). If he stated, on the other hand, that he "liked to try new things", he was then asked:

Do you like to try new things:

1. all the time?
- or
2. only once in awhile?

A response of "all the time" was weighted two (2) while a reply of "only once in a while" was weighted one (1).

The weights of the individual's responses to both questions were then summed to yield a four-level rating of acceptance of change. A score of three (3) was considered to show a high acceptance of change, a score of 2, a moderate acceptance, of one (1), a low acceptance, and of zero (0), no acceptance.

The scores on this series of questions show that the TT's tended to be more inclined to accept change than were the MT's (Table VII.7). Only 7% of the TT's showed no acceptance of change as opposed to a sizeable

28% of the MT's.² It is possible then that a greater percentage of the TT's were able to accept the idea of relocation and the necessity of change resulting from displacement than were the MT's. This fact might have served to lessen the impact on the TT's, while the move appears to have been more disruptive for a greater number of MT's.^{PP} That the transitional MT's and the TT's differ so in their tendencies to accept change serves to remind us of the asynchronous nature of development and modernization. Furthermore, the results would seem to reinforce the statement made in Chapter 3 that "if account is taken of the levels of development of those affected, if change is directed to those who can change and additional aid is offered to those who are not 'ready', renewal and relocation may offer the opportunity to ease the problems of the transition. On the contrary,...renewal may greatly compound these difficulties if the asymmetrical effect is not accounted for."³ Similarly, Kurt Back, in his now-unrelated study of the relocation of slum dwellers in Puerto Rico directly into public housing project -- a study which, to my knowledge, is the only other one to make use of the concepts of modernism and traditionalism -- concluded:

Housing projects are built because of the necessity of providing shelter for people who otherwise could not have adequate housing. But the people who build them always have the additional hope that the construction of these projects will also improve the

general life style and living conditions. In a country like Puerto Rico, the implications of a move to a housing project are tremendous. It means moving from small houses to apartment buildings, from wooden construction to concrete buildings, from squatters' rights to tenancy, from shifting day by day to planned administration. Thus it involves not only the connotations such a move would have in a city in the United States, but a further step in the process of urbanization as well.

The planner faces the difficulty, however, that many people are not ready for this change. They do not want to make it in this manner, and that those who do make the move are frequently not those who could profit most by the change....It may be well to consider whether there is not too much change at once in the system of building housing projects. Other systems for improvement of living conditions may fit better for many people.⁴

To achieve improvements for some of those displaced, it would seem that the relocation agencies must improvise special techniques for rehousing the MT's and TT's.

The importance of the inclination toward change was highlighted in a manner more specifically related to the immediate Castle Square situation by the strong relationship between moving intentions prior to redevelopment and the consequences of relocation. As hypothesized, relocation appears generally to have been a more advantageous occasion for those who planned to leave Castle Square than it was for those who wanted to remain. As the data in Table VII.12A reveals, the majority (52%) of families who planned to move considered their overall life situation to

be better than that in Castle Square, while only 19% thought it was worse. On the other hand, only little more than a third (34%) of those who preferred to stay rated the present higher and nearly the same percentage (30%) rated it lower. That those predisposed to move tended to fare better than their counterparts would seem to lead us again to the conclusion that relocation functioned especially to offer the former the opportunity to "leave the slums" and improve their situation.

To summarize briefly our findings concerning the consequences of the relocation process as perceived by those who were displaced, it appears that in terms of the broad social goals of slum clearance the relocation effort was not an overwhelming success. Although a substantial percentage of the displaced families felt their lives were ~~now~~ better, the majority in fact thought that there had been no change or things had even gotten worse since they left Castle Square. Indeed, relocation seems primarily to have benefited the middle class, those who were most acceptable to change and those who were predisposed to leave Castle Square. On the other hand, sizeable numbers of the lower classes, the very people at whom welfare, "poverty" and renewal efforts are directed, though that they were worse off after relocation.

In light of these findings, both proponents and opponents of urban renewal displacement could make

convincing statements. On the one hand, proponents could argue that, in view of the magnitude of the problems of poverty and urban decay, significant inroads were actually made against these dilemmas; and the program, albeit with modifications, should continue in force. This argument would seem especially effective if one could demonstrate two points: (1) that those who felt worse off after relocation were not done irreparable harm; and (2) that the perceived negative consequences were disruptions of traditional patterns which might have been desired by planners as one goal of a renewal process designed to increase the pace of modernization. On the other hand, one could argue, that if the results were so devastating and disruptive for these families, then we could not justify the programs tendency to provide certain types of improvement particularly to certain groups. In point of fact, on the basis of further analysis, of our data detailed below, proponents might take heart for that relocation from Castle Square may not have had such a "traumatic" effect, or in other words, may not have produced such pervasive negative consequences as studies of other relocation operations have previously suggested.

One of the most forceful descriptions of the disruption and devastation caused by forced dislocation from an urban slum is an article by Dr. Marc Fried

entitled "Grieving for a Lost Home".⁵ The extent of disruption indicated by Dr. Fried is unmistakably clear. "There are wide variations in the success of post-relocation adjustment and considerable variability in the depth and quality of the loss experience," he wrote, "but for the majority (and especially in the case of those with 'strong, positive attachments to their former residential area') it seems quite precise to speak of their reactions as expressions of grief. These are manifest in the feelings of painful loss, the continued longing, the general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological or social or somatic distress, the active work required in adapting to the altered situation, the sense of helplessness, the occasional expressions of both direct and displaced anger and tendencies to idealize the lost place".⁶

After a series of questions about "feelings of sadness and depression which people experienced after moving," including, for example, "how did you feel when you saw or heard that the building you had lived in was torn down?" he concluded, "It is clear that, for the majority of those who were displaced from the West End, leaving their residential area involved a moderate or extreme sense of loss and an accompanying affective reaction of grief."⁷ Moreover, although he admits that most people are able to achieve "a moderately successful adaption to the total situation

of relocation," it is the "intense personal suffering" effected by dislocation that is stressed. Thus, he writes:

In trying to understand the effects of pre-location orientations and post-relocation experience of grief, we must bear in mind that the grief reactions we have described and analyzed are based on responses given approximately two years after relocation. Most people manage to achieve some adaption to their experiences of loss and grief, and learn to deal with new situations and new experiences on their own terms. A wide variety to adaptive methods can be employed of salvage fragments of the sense of continuity (between, past, present, and future), or to try to re-establish it on new grounds. Nonetheless, it is the tenaciousness of the imagery and affect of grief, despite these efforts at dealing with the altered reality, which is so strikingly similar to mourning for a lost person.

This image of the feelings of grief is indeed striking. Yet when we look at the findings of the specific question relating to the "quality of life" before and after relocation, and when we compare these with those of the general life situation inquiry of the "personal ladder", we discover some interesting and intriguing differences. In the first place, on the basis of the "specific question", the tendency of the middle class to fare better after relocation does not seem nearly as marked. As the data in Table VII.1C indicate, about the same percentage (35%) of each class thought they were "better off now", while on the other hand fewer (28%) of the middle class compared

to about 41% of each of the other three classes felt that they had been "better off in Castle Square."

More significant facts would be that, in all classes but one, there was an increase between the percentage of families feeling "better off now" in answer to the specific question and the percentage rating the present higher on the generally-phrased ladder; and conversely, that in all four classes, there was a decline between the percentage feeling "worse off now" on the specific question and the percentage rating the percent lower on the ladder. In three classes, more families rated the present higher on the ladder than felt better off now in response to the specific query; in all classes, less families rated the present lower on the ladder than felt "worse off now" on the direct question. Thus we note by comparing Table VII.1B and VII.1C that the percentage of under-class feeling better off at the present time rose from 32% on the specific question to 42% on the general circumstance, personal ladder. Similarly, the percentage of the lower class increased from 37% to 42% and that of the middle class rose sharply from 36% to 57%. Only in the case of the working class does this trend show a reverse, as the percentage "better off" declined on the personal ladder to 27% from the 35% figure in the specific comparison instance. In terms of the converse outcome, the percentage of those who perceived

relocation to have produced negative consequences fell in the case of the underclass from 41% in the specific circumstances to 32% in terms of the general situation, for the lower class it fell from 41% to 29%, for the working class from 40% to 32%, and for the middle class, it declined from 28% to zero. It is these sizeable and consistent differences between the number of families citing the alternative outcomes in response to each type of question which suggest that the displacement from Castle Square may have had less pervasive negative effects than studies employing highly specific queries have indicated.

Moreover, two other findings would seem to add weight to this discrepancy between generalized and specific perceptions. As the data on the "amount of change in life since relocation" indicate in Table VII. 1D, although there were differential consequences experienced by the various classes, a sizeable majority of each class - 59% of the under, 91% of the lower, 78% of the working, and 85% of the middle class - thought that their lives had changed "hardly at all" or, at most, only "in a few ways" since they had been displaced. These figures suggest that in fact the impact of relocation in either direction, for better or for worse, on the total frame of life may not have been profound. Secondly, relocation does not appear to have worked a permanent hardship, or a feeling that "things are always going to get worse

since I lost my home". As Tables VII.1A and E indicate, although a large number of each class refused to speculate about the future or thought "only God knows", there is a very strong tendency among the relocated who answered to see brighter prospects in the years ahead. The mean future ladder rating of each class rises considerably from that of the present situation - from 4.95 to 5.5 for the underclass, from 4.8 to 6.0 for the lower class, from 4.3 to 5.8 for working class, and from 7.9 to 8.8 for the middle class. In percentage terms, there are again class differences, but these do not concern us in this paper. What is striking however is the fact that 85% or more of each class felt that they would be better off in the future.[Ⓟ] It would appear, then, that, in the case of the many who rated the present lower than the past, relocation might have been viewed as temporary setback in their quest for the achievement of their goals. In short, on the basis of these three findings - the different results for the alternate forms of questions, the low amount of change, and the optimistic view of the future - I would argue that, although on the one hand it is not indicated that the relocation was the sole factor contributing to the improvement of the displaced families, on the other it is unlikely that the relocation produced the grief-filled, negative

consequences that are so vividly portrayed in the Fried study.⁹

When we carry the comparison of "general" with "specific" even further, another interesting line of argument is opened up. It seems possible, that relocation may have had greater effects, either positive or negative, on the "bottom" three classes than it did on the middle class. Thus, although the middle class tended to fare better after displacement and a greater percentage of them showed improvement, relocation itself may have played a greater part in the improvement achieved by members of the underclass.

¹⁰ This thesis is derived from the fact that the difference between the percentage feeling better off in terms of the personal ladder and the percentage feeling better off in terms of the specific-situation question is less in the case of each of the "bottom" three classes than it is in the case of the middle class. For the middle class, this difference is 21%, that is 57% of the middle class rated the present higher on the ladder while only 36% stated they were "better off now," whereas for the underclass it is 10%, for the lower class it is 5%, and for the working class it reverses to become an increase of 8% - that is more stated they were better off now than so indicated on the ladder. In this same vein, in terms of negative consequences, the percentage of each of the

"bottom" three classes who rated the past higher on the ladder was more nearly equal to the percentage of that class who thought they were "better off in Castle Square" than were the corresponding figures for the middle class. For the underclass the difference is only 9% as 32% rated the present lower and 41% felt they had been "better off" before relocation; for the lower class, it is the 12% difference between 29% and 41% in each response respectively; and for the working class, it is the 8% difference between 32% and 40%. On the other hand, in the case of the middle class, the difference is a sizeable 28%, as that number stated they were "better off in Castle Square" but none rated the present lower than the past on the ladder.

In addition, as stated, the thesis seems especially applicable to the underclass when we note, in Table VII.1D, that a very substantial 41% of this class felt that their lives had changed "in many ways" or "in almost every way" since moving from Castle Square. Finally, further discussion below will add support to the argument that relocation may have made a greater contribution to the improvement experienced by the underclass, and possibly to the other two "bottom" classes, than it did to the improvement of the middle class.

Returning for the moment to the question of the pervasiveness of the negative consequences, we note, that in terms of modernism also the argument that displacement did not produce widespread disruptions seems for the most part to be validated. In the case of the MM's, the TM's and the TT's, a comparison of Tables VII.6B and VII.6C indicates that there was a decline between the percentage feeling worse off now on the specific question and the percentage rating the present lower on the generally-phrased ladder. For the MM's, the figure feeling "better off in Castle Square" declined from 40% to 27%; for the TM's, it declined from 30% to 14%; and for the TT's, it declined from 32% to 27%. Moreover, following the reasoning of our earlier argument, we note in Table VII.6D, that 75% or more of each of the groups thought that their lives had changed "hardly at all" or only "in a few ways", and the outlook for the future appears to be viewed in, by no means, a pessimistic way (Table VII.6A and E). The mean future ladder rating of the MM is 6.4 - 1.3 higher than that for the present (5.1); that of the TM's (6.9) is 1.4 higher than their present (5.1); and that of the TT's (6.4) is 1.4 higher than their present mean rating (5.0). In all cases, these ratings are also higher than the past ratings for life in Castle Square. In percentage terms, too, it will be noted that, although a majority

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of the TM's and TT's did not rate the future higher, no more than 9% of any of these three groups thought the future would be worse than the present. In view of these facts, it appears that for the MM's, the TM's, and the TT's, displacement did not produce the widespread negative consequences one might have expected.

In the case of the MT's, the picture is less clear. To be sure, the percentage of those who replied that they were worse off now to the specific relocation query does decline when the question is phrased in the general terms of the ladder - 61% of the MT's felt they had been "better off in Castle Square", whereas 56% rated the present lower on the ladder - but on the other hand, the size of this latter figure cannot be overlooked. And yet, the move was not perceived to have produced a great amount of change for, as Table VII.6D indicates, nearly all (94%) of the MT's stated that their lives had changed "hardly at all" or only "in a few ways". Furthermore, their view of the future does not necessarily seem to have been disrupted. More than a majority (58%) thought that "things" would be better in the future. And yet, a quarter thought that the future would in fact be worse.

It will be noted that the future mean ladder ratings (4.8) is only slightly higher than the present mean (4.5) and, in fact, still considerably lower

than the mean for life in Castle Square (5.9). From these diverse findings, it would appear that although displacement may not necessarily have produced the pervasive negative consequences of the force and extent suggested in Dr. Fried's paper, it had a strong tendency to affect the MT's adverse. . Moreover, the close similarity between the results on the general ladder question and the specific comparison query suggests that, despite the fact 95% of the MT's stated there was little change in their lives, relocation may indeed have been a prime factor in the MT's feelings about their present lives.

When we turn to the third variable we have been employing, moving intentions prior to redevelopment, the less-than-expected impact of displacement is revealed clearly by the results for those families who had intended to stay in Castle Square. As the data in Table VII.12A and B indicate, there is a sharp decline between the percentage of families who considered themselves to have been "better off in Castle Square" (46%) and the proportion of families who rated the present lower than the past on the ladder. (30%). Moreover, the amount of change again did not tend to be great for we can see, in Table VII.12C, that nearly nine out of every ten families (88%) stated that their lives had changed "hardly at all" or only "in a few ways". The future, too, tends to be bright for these

families. Although mean ladder ratings are not yet available on this variable, nearly half (49%) thought the future would be better than the present and only 10% thought it would be worse. Even among those who wanted to remain in Castle Square prior to renewal, it appears that relocation did not tend to produce a great degree of change or a lasting feeling that "things will only get worse".

For the other group, those who planned to leave Castle Square anyway had not renewal occurred, it appears, on the basis of the close similarity between the results on the ladder and the specific relocation question, that relocation may have been the main factor in their responses to these questions concerning their general life situation. In other words, whatever the improvement or worsening which had occurred in the three years since they left Castle Square would seem to be the result of relocation. Furthermore, the extent of the negative consequences again does not appear to be great. Although the decline between specific and general results is only 1%, it will be noted that the amount of change tended to be small - only 23% thought their lives had changed "in many ways" or "in almost every way" - and that none of these families anticipated its life-situation to worsen in the future. For all groups, except possibly the MT's, it seems possible that the negative

consequences for those who thought that "things" had become worse were not the traumatic extent discovered in Fried's earlier West End study.

ON THE NATURE OF THE LOSS

Yet the questions remain: why did such shifts between the results on the specific and generally-worded questions occur and, particularly, why did 28% of the middle class state, in reply to the specific question, that they had been better off in Castle Square while none of them thought that its new home was worse than its Castle Square residence? Our first guess - that this might be explained by an increase in the family's financial burdens and costs due to the move -- does not appear to be the case. As Table VII.25 indicates, although 50% of the middle class felt they had "more trouble making ends meet" after the move, 14% stated that this situation was not due to the move and the other 36% stated that it was due to the newly-acquired burdens of home ownership. If we can then assume, as has often been stated, that home ownership is in fact a desired goal of a great many Americans, the increase in costs due to such ownership would not seem very likely to be considered a hardship by these families. What then is the case?

In fact, I would suggest, on the basis of the data presented below, that what we have in the case under study is an immigrant middle class which tends to be at the lower levels of modernity. In this sense, they seem to resemble more nearly the more traditional "old" middle class than the more modern, pragmatic, and relativistic professionals of the "new" middle class. The members of the Castle Square middle class tend for the most part to be unwilling to accept change, nor, like the "urban villagers of the West End sketched by Gans, do they tend to be socially mobile. It appears that for many their way of life in Castle Square may have reached a level which was acceptable to them in their own terms, or, in other words, that, before relocation, "things were good enough". In short, they constitute what has been called the accomodated class. And, I would suggest further that relocation may indeed have deprived these middle class families of certain more traditional part elements of their lives -- namely, their friends and especially, the local community -- which they may have valued more highly than the object which urban renewal provided them in return--better housing.

As stated earlier, the index of modernism did not include a prime facet of the fully modern man, that is, the acceptance of change. Thus although a

high percentage of the middle class were MM's, an even higher percentage (86%) exhibited "no" or only "low" acceptance of change (Table VII.2). In fact, as the data show, there was an unexpected inverse relationship between social class and acceptance of change. The higher the class standing, the lower was the percentage with high or moderate ratings. Indeed, there was a marked difference between the figure for the middle class and those for the other three classes --14% of the middle class were rated high or moderate whereas the percentages of the working, lower, and under classes were 41%, 44%, and 50% respectively.

One of the interesting questions that has resulted from our breakdown of class and use of the development model is this apparent anomaly: the class with the lowest tendency to accept change tending in fact to fare better in the actual results of the relocation operation than those classes showing greater percentages of families with high and moderate "acceptance ratings." This seems especially anomalous in view of the fact that the greater acceptance of change tendency of the TT's was offered as an explanation for their tendency to fare better than the transitional MT's. In fact, I would argue that the acceptance of change and the ability to respond to it may not necessarily be the same and that the lack of acceptance of change may not necessarily preclude the ability to

adapt to and cope with the exigencies of change when it is forced upon the individual or the family as is the case in urban renewal. Thus, the middle class may tend to exhibit a low acceptance of change and yet tend to handle forced change well and to fare better after relocation than the other classes.¹⁰

As the data in Table VII.4 indicate, nearly three-quarters (71%) of the middle class were rated low in terms of future social mobility. The mobility index used in this study was an adaptation of a scale developed by Leonard Reissman.¹¹ Respondents were offered a hypothetical opportunity to improve their occupational position and then were asked what influence a variety of conditions -- for example, the necessity of leaving one's family for some time -- would have on their acceptance of the offer. The entire question is presented below in figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Mobility Index

Suppose you were offered an opportunity to make a substantial advance in your job or occupation. How important would each of the following be in stopping you from making that advance?

	Might stop me from making the change	would be a serious con- sideration but wouldn't stop me	wouldn't matter at all
A. Leave your family for some time	_____	_____	_____
B. Move around the country a lot	_____	_____	_____

Fig. 5.1 (cont'd.)

C. Leave your community	_____	_____	_____
D. Leave your friends	_____	_____	_____
E. Leave your relatives	_____	_____	_____
F. Give up leisure time	_____	_____	_____
G. Keep quiet about political views	_____	_____	_____
H. Keep quiet about religious views.	_____	_____	_____
I. Learn a new routine	_____	_____	_____

Of the nine conditional factors two were not employed to compute the mobility rating. The last item, "learn a new routing", was found to be unclear and the factor, "leave your friends", was not included in order that it might be used as a separate indicator in other analysis. The alternative responses to the remaining seven were weighted as follows: the first reply that an item "might stop me from making the change" -- was scored six (6); the response "would be a serious consideration but wouldn't stop me" was scored two (2); and, the reply "wouldn't matter at all" was scored one (1). The weights on these seven were then summed yielding a range of possible totals from 7 to 42. Scores of 18 or

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(1673-1674) ...

lower were considered to be indicative of high mobility, and those of 19 and higher, of low mobility. In effect, then, to be classified as showing "high mobility" a respondent could state at most that two factors might stop him from making the change, and of the remaining five at least four had to be the response "wouldn't matter at all."

Thus in Table VII.4 it will be noted that the under and lower classes tended to show a greater willingness to accept a job opportunity were it to be offered to them. A large majority of each class -- 60% of the under and 69% of the lower--were rated as showing high mobility. On the other hand, the working class along with the middle class tended to exhibit reluctance to accept the opportunity as 60% of 71% respectively were classified as having low mobility.¹²

Coupled with the above two elements is the fact that, for the middle class although the present mean personal ladder rating was higher than the past mean, the mean rating for life in Castle Square was itself as high 6.6. It appears then that many of this class may have felt that they were well enough off in Castle Square, and thus they tended to exhibit their unwillingness to change in general and their lack of interest in their own mobility in particular. In other words, there is a strong inclination to suggest that for the middle class, in this study, especially as will be shown below, in

terms of what renewal had to offer, "things might have been well enough left alone." ¹³ In forwarding this interpretation, I am not unaware of the problem of time, that is, of the difficulty involved in the application of the present-based acceptance of change and mobility ratings to the past mean rating and of the possibility that the high percentage of low and no acceptance of change rating and of low mobility scores may in fact be reflections of the higher present mean rating. No doubt this is somewhat the case; but, in my opinion, it cannot be adjudged the whole case for, as Table VI.9 indicates, fully 50% of the middle class expressed no intention of leaving Castle Square prior to their displacement by redevelopment. Further support for the argument that "things might have been well enough left alone" is found in the analysis of the direct question--What did you miss about leaving Castle Square? The middle class tended to miss more features than did any other class; more than half (57%) of the middle class missed four or more features of their former neighborhood (Table VII.13B).¹⁴

We begin to discover specific clues to the operation of and the opportunities presented by urban renewal to the different classes when the responses to the "what did you miss?" question are reviewed. As the data in Table VII.13A indicate, aside from the low rents and home ownership, it appears that the neighborhood and its people were of substantial concern to and are prime

objects of the sense of loss experienced by the middle class. More than a third (36%) of them missed the "neighborhood itself", 50% missed the "people of Castle Square", and 57% missed the "nearness to relatives."

When we turn to the analysis of the responses to specific questions relating to these areas, their importance becomes clearer. As regards relations with relatives the vast majority (86%) of the middle class -- many more than in the other three classes -- stated that "living near relatives" was very important or important (Table VII.17A). Although only 10% thought that they had fewer relatives living nearby now (Table VII.17B), relations were affected. Fully 50% indicated that they were in contact with their relatives who lived in the Boston area less frequently now than they had been in Castle Square (Table VII.17C) and 57% said that they missed the former nearness of relatives at their present address. In short, it seems that the middle class, to whom living near relatives tended to be important, tended to feel themselves living not so close to and in less frequent contact with their relatives after displacement although in terms of actual distance this might not be the case.

In regard to relations with friends and neighbors, and the value of such relationships, we can see that, although 88% of the middle class felt that in the abstract housing was important or very important (Table VII.5),

in response to another direct query, nearly the same number (86%) agreed to the statement that "Keeping friends is more important than money and a new home" (Table VII.15B). Substantially fewer in each of the other three classes -- 67% of the under, 59% of the lower, and 46% of the working -- were in agreement. In addition, only a little over a third (36%) of the middle class -- in sharp contrast with the more than 60% of each of the "bottom" three classes -- stated that the necessity of leaving friends "wouldn't matter at all" to their acceptance of the opportunity for job advancement (Table VII.15C). Nearly half (43%) thought that this condition might stop them from accepting and the remaining 21% felt it would be a serious consideration but wouldn't stop them. Thus, when we turn to Table VII.15A and the data on the number of friends before and after relocation, it will be noted that more than half (57%) of the families in the middle class--the class to whom friends tend to be very important--now have fewer friends than they had in Castle Square. Finally in the more general area of relations with neighbors, Table VII.16 reveals that only 7% of the middle class liked their present neighbors more than the people of Castle Square, and half (50%) like them less.

The combination of these factors -- the lack of acceptance of change, the low mobility, the high ladder rating and level of living, the importance of the local community and of interpersonal relationships, and relative

to these, the unimportance of housing and other material considerations, and the actual disruption of the community and these interpersonal relationships -- indicates a trend which suggests that a strong reason why, despite indications of housing and general life improvements, 28% of the middle class replied that they had been "better off in Castle Square." It would appear, as suggested above, that many members of the middle class had already achieved a material standard of living that was acceptable to them in their own terms and that what was important to them at the time of relocation, and in the frame of reference of what urban renewal produces and offers, were the old neighborhood and community, the people of Castle Square--friends, neighbors, and relatives -- not necessarily "money and a new home."

Further in support of this hypothesis, is a noticeable omission among the wishes and hopes expressed by the middle class, in contrast to those of the other classes. Lacking is any strong indication of desires for "a decent or improved standard of living" or for "adequate or improved housing" (Table VII.21). Only 7% of the middle class expressed desires along each of these lines respectively. On the contrary, it appears that what is important to them and what they desire for the future is the maintenance of a good, steady job -- in other than a monetary sense -- and a happy and successful life for their families and children; -- 43% stated

hopes relating to a good job, 36% desired a happy family life, and 29% expressed wishes for their children. It seems possible then, that the desire for future social mobility, as indicated by the higher future mean ladder rating, would represent a desire for the achievement of these goals for family and children rather than the attainment by the individual respondent of the material goals of "money and a new home" and of the substantial occupational advancement used as the object of the specific mobility question. This thesis might explain the middle class' low mobility inclination and low acceptance of change tendency since the individual respondent's personal situation and the family material standard of living would appear to be, and to have been, at a level acceptable to them: "well enough left alone by urban renewal."

Although the possession and importance of friends are by themselves not necessarily traditional characteristics, friendship, family and kin ties which are strongly identified with the local community, or, in other words, a narrowly-defined spatial base, may be considered to be so. This situation is somewhat akin to the traditional man's attachment to the small, isolated local village. It is in this pattern, that our middle class families bear a marked resemblance to the "urban villagers" with their tight neighborhood and group ties.¹⁵ And, of course, this is exactly what redevelopment disrupted. That disruption may be a main reason for the expressions

of negativism by more than a quarter of the middle class. In fact, this finding is quite similar to that cited by Dr. Fried to explain the grief reactions of the "urban villagers" displaced from the West End -- that is, the simultaneous disruption of the "sense of spatial identity" and the "sense of group identity".¹⁶ And yet, as we argued earlier, we may wonder just how serious these negative consequences were to the families under study.¹⁷

In so far as the operation of these factors among the "bottom" three classes is concerned -- and from this point we shall confine our analysis to the under class alone -- the data cannot be so clear. There are no zero baselines on either the personal ladder or on the housing ladder as there were in the case of the middle class. Forty percent of the underclass stated their present housing was worse than that in Castle Square (Table VI.7B). But it is also evident that other factors may be involved in the feelings of worsened situations. For example, more than half (52%) of the underclass state that they had "increased trouble making ends meet" after the move. Of these 38% cited increased rent as the reason for the difficulty (Table VII.25).

On the other hand, it is also true that a substantial percentage of the underclass missed the "neighborhood itself" (32%), the people of Castle Square" (46%), and "nearness to relatives" (18%). In addition, 29% stated that they had fewer relatives living nearby now, and 36%

stated that they were in contact with their relatives less often now. Finally, more than half (59%) thought they had fewer friends after relocation, and fully 46% liked their present neighbors less than the people of Castle Square.

Yet these interpersonal and neighborhood relationships do not appear to be as important to the underclass as they did to the middle class. Thus, although two-thirds of the underclass -- a figure itself 19% less than that for the middle class -- thought that "keeping friends was more important than money and a new home," nearly as many (65%) -- as opposed to only 36% of the middle class -- stated that the necessity of leaving friends "wouldn't matter at all" to their acceptance of the job advancement opportunity. Only 15% stated that such a condition might stop their acceptance. In regard to the importance of living near relatives, 42% of the underclass compared, to 14% of the middle class, considered it to be unimportant or only to mean a little. In sum, while it is quite likely that the factors of spatial and group identity are to some degree involved in the feelings of worsened situations of many of the underclass, the import of these factors is not so clear as in the case of the middle class though from the indications of the data it does appear to be less.

.. . .

Pursuing our investigation into what is important to the underclass, we discover some clues in the data. It appears quite likely that the underclass may tend to be at present -- and at the time of relocation to have been -- more immediately concerned with

the improvement of their material standard of living and the quality of their living environment than in their neighborhood and interpersonal relationships. Their level of living as perceived by them in Castle Square -- and at present also -- was lower than the middle class' perception of themselves, and they tended to be more willing to make sacrifices to achieve these material goals. In this regard, it should be remembered that the underclass' mean personal ladder rating for life in Castle Square was 5.3 compared to 6.6 for the middle class (Table VII.1A). Further, as Table VII.13B indicates, fully 43% missed nothing or at most only one feature about Castle Square after relocation while less than one quarter (24%) -- compared to more than half (57%) of the middle class -- missed four or more features.

In addition, there was a strong tendency among the underclass to "accept change". Only 15% of these families had "no" acceptance of change ratings while half (50%) had either high or moderate ratings (Table VII.2). The underclass also tended to be much more mobile--and by our scale, more willing to make sacrifices to obtain an

improved employment situations -- than were the middle. Well over half (60%) of the underclass received high mobility scores -- a figure slightly more than twice the percentage of middle class (29%) so rated. And, as stated above, slightly more (65%) of the underclass, compared to only 36% of the middle class, indicated that the specific necessity of having to leave their friends "wouldn't matter at all" to them in accepting the offer of job advancement.

In terms of specific desires, we can see that two thirds (67%) of the underclass stated that housing in the abstract was an important or very important thing to them (Table VII.5). That this percentage is less than that of the middle class (88%) does not destroy the argument for, as we have seen above, housing may in fact be less important to the middle class relative to other things (Table VII.15B). Thus it will be noted in Table VII.21 that half (50%) of the underclass expressly stated the desire for "adequate or improved housing" as one of their wishes and hopes for the future.

The hypothesis that relocation may in fact have played a greater role in the improvement achieved by the underclass than it did in the case of the middle class is substantiated in the main. It is not a simple relationship, but all the indicators -- the importance of the material standard of living and of housing quality

and the relative unimportance of neighborhood and group ties to the underclass , the differences in the findings on the general ladder and the specifically-worded companion question, the underclass' 50% figure in improved housing -- at least go in the same direction.¹⁸

In sum the consequences of displacement and relocation varied widely. The middle class, those with modern behavior, and those who intended to leave Castle Square on their own tended to fare better after the move than their counterparts. On the other hand, although the middle class did tend to fare better than the bottom three classes, and although a substantial number of the latter were adversely affected, it appears that relocation may have played a greater part in the improvement achieved by the underclass, and possibly the other two classes. Overall, a substantial percentage of the relocated families found themselves in improved situations. The majority, however, felt that they were either in the same position or worse off than they had been in Castle Square; yet, for the latter, the negative consequences seemed unlikely to have produced "irreparable harm".

CHAPTER 5 - NOTES

1. The three-year time period is the only charge in the Cantril format. He employs a five-year period, but this was changed to a three-year interval in order to place the past situation at a time just prior to relocation. It is retained in the question about the future for the sake of uniformity.
2. It should be noted that this situation is not due to social class - that is, the high percentage of TT's who are members of the underclass (54%). Thus the percentage of TT's showing no acceptance of change (7%) is less than the percentage of the underclass (15%) similarly inclined. Correlatively, the percentage of MT's indicating "no acceptance" (28%) is greater than the corresponding percentage of each social class in which MT's are members - underclass 15%, lower class, 17%, and working class, 5%. It seems that this relationship between modernism and the acceptance of change stands on its own.
3. P. 36. Yet the fact that those with modern behavior patterns, regardless of value orientations, tended to fare better may be unexpected to those theorists of modernization who have stressed the importance of the value sphere in motivating change and development. Perhaps one explanation for this discrepancy lies in the fact that we are dealing with not those who propelled the renewal of Castle Square, but the responses of those who were displaced by forced change. Thus, those with modern behavior patterns might have been better able to respond to the exigencies of the situation whether they desired it or not - regardless of their values. At any rate, this finding would seem to provide an interesting topic for investigation to students of development. See also, p. 123.
4. Back, op. cit., pp. 106 and 107. Back however measures the concepts in a different way.
5. In Duhl, op. cit., pp. 151-171. This article is one of many based on the findings of an elaborate and exhaustive study of families relocated from another "slum" residential district in Boston, the West End, which is being undertaken under Dr. Fried's direction by the Center for Community Studies of Harvard University and the Massachusetts General Hospital. It is concerned particularly with the effects of relocation on mental health.

6. Ibid., p. 151.
7. Ibid., p. 152.
8. Ibid., p. 160.
9. Dr. Fried himself states, as noted in the text, that "most people are able to achieve a moderately successful adaptation to the total situation of relocation," but then stresses the "intense personal suffering" effected by forced dislocation. Perhaps, then, our differences result from the different emphasis we apparently place on our findings, from his method which was geared particularly at the effects of relocation on the individual's mental health, and the different populations of the areas which underwent redevelopment. The third factor seems to be of considerable significance for the planning of renewal policy, and it is dealt with at length at the beginning of Chapter 6. It is closely related to the earlier point in Chapter 1, note 9, pp. 9-10, that the "degree to which an area approximates a slum" has implications for renewal policy.
10. This discrepancy, moreover, would seem to suggest that modernity cannot be conceived of as a purely "acceptance of change" factor. Although such a variable might explain the reversal in expected outcomes of the MT's and TT's, it does not, as stated, explain why the middle class fared better than the underclass. The middle class has been shown to include a high percentage of MM's (71%) and TM's (21%) - groups who have also been shown to fare better after the forced dislocation than those with traditional behavior. It is suggested, in other words, that modernism can again be seen as the discriminating variable and that the prevalence of modern behavior patterns among the middle class was conducive to their great ability to cope with the exigencies of change. This point alone would seem to highlight the importance of an "institutional modernism index" such as the one developed and to suggest the possibilities of its use.
11. Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, XVII, June, 1953, pp. 233-42.
12. That the working class more nearly resembled the middle class than the other two "bottom" classes

of the actual employment situation of each class. Although Table 3.3 on the family's, not solely the head's source of income cannot support this explanation fully and precisely, the data do suggest that the frequency of unemployment and retirement in the under and lower classes was undoubtedly much higher than in the working and middle classes. The former two classes would be more likely then to exhibit a willingness to make sacrifices for a job opportunity.

Table 3.2 is not an indicator of this suggestion because it includes the usual occupation of the retired and the unemployed.

13. This is not to say of course that the middle class is totally against "getting ahead" for, as the future ladder question shows, they do desire and expect improvement. For a discussion of this point see page 130.
14. 'Features' refer not to individual characteristics or facilities of the neighborhood but to the broad categories found with question 13 and in table VII.13A which were used to classify the variety of possible items cited. Thus, for example, if an individual stated that he missed the stores, the church, and the park, these were recorded only as the "Neighborhood itself" and were counted only as one feature. Likewise, if he missed his "friends and neighbors", this response was the one feature, "people of Castle Square." "Convenience referred only to specific responses that stressed the physical convenience of the location in any way except "nearness to relatives."
15. Gans, The Urban Villagers, op. cit. For an interesting conception of what might possibly be termed the modern form of community see Melvin Webber's discussion of the aspatial nature of community in metropolitan society. M. Webber, "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm", in Webber, et. al., Explorations into Urban Structure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1964), pp.79-153.
16. Fried, in Duhl, op. cit., p. 158.
17. It will be noted that our analysis will no longer involve the modernism variable because a detailed review of the operation of the neighborhood and interpersonal factors has not yet been completed using that variable. However, a brief glance at the appropriate tables included in Appendix VII, indicates that these factors were of some, if varying, importance to each of the four groups.

This finding together with the discussion of the importance of "community items" in the text suggests the possibility that, although the full modernism variable is important for the response of relocation and change, in a case such as this/so specifically involves the spatial community, this individual component of modernity may be of particular importance for the response to renewal.

Additionally, we may note that, as one of the consequences of renewal was the break-up of a traditional institution, perchance this is one of the reasons for those with modern behavior patterns to have fared better after relocation. They may have been better able to live outside the traditional community when forced to do so.

18. The author realizes, of course, that to make the statement that such was actually the case in the Castle Square renewal operation on the basis of the data at hand involves the already-cited problem of time. No doubt it is possible that the underclass tended now to be so desirous of housing and other material gains because they did not in fact achieve these goals when relocated. Similarly, one could argue that the middle class is not now so desirous of the same items because relocation did provide them. Because of the lack of a "before study" and the time gap, the answer cannot be crystal clear. Yet, on the basis of the middle class' high mean rating of life in Castle Square and what they missed, and on the basis of the similarity of our findings with those of Gans and Fried, I would suggest that our main hypothesis on the different effects of relocation on the middle and under classes is apt to be valid. In addition, the fact that the strongest support for urban renewal came from the underclass and the greatest dissent from the middle class would seem to add further substance to this argument. (See p.154).

CHAPTER 6

RELOCATION AS AN AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Summary of the Findings

In the first chapter of this work, we presented a model of the role of relocation as an agent of social change. If the physical decay of an area required clearance as the method of renewal, a relocation program that provided both rehousing and a full range of social services was seen to offer an opportunity to achieve the complementary goals of individual and community improvement. Such a technique would provide not only new housing but also "an opportunity for rural-born traditional inhabitants to develop urban, modern ways, for those who despair to become those who dream, for those who are without work to become those who work and earn",

for those who are 'prepared' to leave the slums and 'urban village' to enter the 'outside world'.

In the ensuing chapters on the consequences of the Castle Square relocation we have observed a variety of results which warrant a brief summary. The reader is reminded that, due to sampling limitations, we cannot speak of the actual results of the redevelopment authority's undertaking, but rather of the results presented by our sample. In so far as the location of the new housing is concerned, it was seen that the middle class generally, and the working class somewhat less so, tended to move to

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better areas of the city. Overall, however, the majority of the relocated families - especially those among the under and lower classes - remained in areas about the same or only slightly better than Castle Square. It was noted that those families with modern behavior patterns tended to move outside the South End into more modern areas, whereas those with traditional behavior patterns exhibited a tendency to remain in the more traditional, immigrant entry-area community. It appears then, that one of the functions of the Castle Square relocation operation, as in the model program, was to provide those families who would seem most likely to possess the capacity to leave the "slums" and "urban villages" with the opportunity to do so.

As regards the new dwelling specifically, the data suggested that, although the great majority of all the families were rehoused in standard housing, the degree of housing improvement was open to question. There was not even a majority of any social class who thought that their new homes were better than those in Castle Square. Yet there were class differences: the middle class tended to fare better than the "bottom" three classes, and half of the underclass felt that they had profited in the rehousing operation. Furthermore, to a large degree, those who had intended to leave Castle Square anyway prior to redevelopment also fared well. Relocation

appeared to provide them with the chance to implement their plans to obtain better housing. Yet, despite the gains experienced by these three groups, and despite the fact that fully 85% of all the displaced were relocated into standard housing, the conclusion remained that a sizeable majority of all the families felt that their new housing was worse or only about as good as their pre-relocation residence.

In regard to the general consequences of displacement, the results of relocation varied according to social class, modernism, and predisposition to move before renewal. The middle class again tended to fare better than the "bottom" three classes; a majority of the former felt their situations had improved after relocation. It was suggested, however, that, despite this tendency, relocation may have played a greater role in the improvement experienced by the underclass. The data also revealed that those with modern behavior tended to fare better than their traditional counterparts; a majority of the former thought that "things had improved." The conclusion, however, is similar to that offered for the housing component: despite the improvements perceived by these groups, the majority of the displaced felt that their overall life situation was no better and, in many cases, even worse than it had been in Castle Square. And yet, the severity of the negative consequences and the depth of the ensuing feelings were open to question.

At this point, it seems appropriate to assess the Castle Square operation against the model role of relocation presented earlier. The Castle Square program apparently fulfilled one aspect of the model in that it provided those families who should be most likely to have had the ability to leave the slums and urban villages on their own with the opportunity to do so -- namely, the middle class, those with modern behavior, and those who specifically desired to leave Castle Square. In addition, it appears that relocation resulted in improved housing and general life situations for a substantial percentage, if not a majority, of all the displaced, and that it may have played an important role in the improvement perceived by the members of the underclass. Finally, it seems that renewal and relocation disrupted a traditional-style, tight-knit community in Castle Square the result of which, although frequently perceived by the families involved in negative terms may have been to ease some people toward a more modern pattern of behavior.

On the other hand, it is evident that relocation in the case under study, did not satisfy the model role. In the first place, the majority of displaced families felt that they were no better off than they had been in Castle Square. In the second place, a large percentage of the relocated are still, two years after relocation, members of the underclass and other "bottom" classes;

many are still unemployed, many still have incomes below the poverty, and many still hold to traditional values and behavior. The relocation program was in many ways insufficient and ineffective.

The reader might now expect a categorical judgment of "success" or "failure", but such is not forthcoming. As stated in Chapter 4, it would be remiss to judge the success or failure of a project in "clearing slums" without a comprehensive overview of the city's renewal and poverty programs. Moreover, one might question the advisability and necessity of attempting to apply these terms in view of the relativity of the concepts themselves. As we suggested earlier, on the basis of the mixed quality of the results, both proponents and opponents of renewal could have a firm basis for argument and the application of their desired judgement. Would it not be difficult to decide that because of its deficiencies, the "Castle Square relocation operation" was a failure in view of the scope of the task of rebuilding our cities and the actual accomplishments of the program? Suffice it is to state, then, that on the one hand the relocation operation accomplished a great deal, but, on the other, that is left a great deal to be done.

If this review has shown that effort did not achieve all that the model of relocation posited, it has not lessened the validity of the role of relocation as an agent of social change. ^{current} Yet, this cannot be achieved with relocation planning and organization. Although the Castle Square program was the first renewal project in Boston to

employ social workers as relocation workers and to exhibit a significant degree of awareness of social aspects of relocation, it was still much less than the comprehensive broad-scale program necessary to make relocation an important tool in the struggle for individual and community improvement.⁶ It was not a strategy of planned social change; rather, it involved efforts to ease the social disruptions produced by the physical demolition.

Given such a strategy, the data do suggest that renewal and relocation can be effective instruments in the struggle. We have seen, for example, that the underclass, the targets of the war on poverty, are, for the most part, willing to accept change, mobile, willing to make sacrifices and to accept opportunities for advancement if offered to them, desirous of housing and material improvements, and favorably inclined toward urban renewal.¹ In short, they tend to be those who could profit by and would welcome a comprehensive physical and social urban renewal program - a program of physical redevelopment fully integrated with planning and the social policies of the War on Poverty and social agencies. It is in this light that the opportunity of relocation as an agent of social change shines brightly.

Implications: Relocation as an Agent of Social Change

Although it is difficult to generalize precisely on the basis of one study with methodological handicaps, the findings do suggest a number of important considerations for renewal and relocation policy. Many have already been presented above; others are offered here.

As was suggested at the conclusion of the previous chapter, the fact that there appear to be "cutting points" among the commonly lumped-together "poor" is a factor of which planners should be aware. That there are, among an apparently one-class population, different classes with different wishes and hopes and with varying perceptions of their standards of living and levels of achievement, and that there are people among this population at different levels of modernism imply much for the rebuilding of urban America.² No doubt the determination of such characteristics among the population of a proposed target area is an advisable first step in the formulation of renewal policy.

For example, if the population of the project area is found to resemble the middle class of Castle Square - an immigrant class which tends to be "accomodated" to its situation and at the lower levels of modernity and to which the local community tends to mean a great deal - it might be advisable, physical deterioration permitting, to initiate a rehabilitation program rather than clearance.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

However, if clearance is demanded, it might be appropriate either to develop a block-by-block rebuilding program - that is, a program which would temporarily relocate the families, raze the block, replace it with new housing, and then return the displaced to the new structures - or to provide for relocation of a community as a unit. For instance, community relocation might be attempted in two possible ways, one large- and the other small-scale. First, given sufficient vacant land within the city limits, such an area might be fully developed as a new residential neighborhood, complete with schools, shops, and social facilities, prior to the clearance of the redevelopment area, and ^{then} the neighborhood ^{be} moved in together as a group. Secondly, relocation workers might discover specifically the relatives and friends in the area which a family very much desires to be near after relocation. A socio-metric network might be designed. Mutual choices could be groups, and entire groups of families could be assigned to each relocation worker. It would be the relocation worker's responsibility to find accommodations for each family in the group nearby to one another. In these ways, the physical improvements could be offered without disrupting social networks. Moreover, since these families are unlikely to be the multi-problem families and the "slum-dwellers", in the "socially-harmful" sense of the word, it would not seem to be an unwise policy to have the community intact.

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Although such relocation policies are frequently considered to be quite costly, there are compensations. First, since these middle-class families are generally not the problem families, special social services are unlikely to be required. Secondly, the community relocation would not involve the risks to the economic and tax structure of the city resulting from these families relocating outside the city limits. Finally, planning to relocate existing communities might be less costly than continued architectural and planning attempts to design physical settings conducive to the formation of "neighborhood." Although these families may not comprise the professional, executive middle class, which renewal seeks to bring back to the central city, neither are they the "slum-dwellers."

Yet, as this strong attachment to the local community represents a traditional pattern for those who may be modern in other ways, the policy of maintaining the community intact can be questioned. Should the policy-maker decide that he, in fact, would like to try to ease these families toward a higher level of modernism and that the disruption of these communities would be an effective technique toward that goal then it might be a justifiable alternative to clear these areas and refrain from community relocation plans even though the families themselves might react negatively. This policy might be even more viable if, as we have suggested, the move and disruption

of the community are, in fact, less "traumatic" than others have written.

Another example of policy considerations follows if the majority of the families in the target area were members of the underclass. In this instance, policy-makers might not have to be so concerned with preserving community ties, as with providing new and improved housing and special social services. In one case, it is possible that the planners might designate "selective clearance" necessary. They might want to disrupt these communities, to some degree, by relocating selected families, who would be, except for financial considerations, well-equipped to leave the slums and live in the "outside world" - for example, the more modern members of the underclass - into middle and upper class areas in order to reduce the degree of "economic residential segregation.

In another case, if the renewal agency planned to preserve the underclass community through a rehabilitation program, it would have to ensure the provision of an effective, broad-scale social service program in order to bring the population of the target area into the mainstream of American society. In this instance, the incorporation of a community action program and other programs of the War on Poverty and regular welfare agencies with the physical housing effort would not seem too much.

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At any rate, whether the plans for the underclass area called for rehabilitation or total clearance and large-scale relocation, the renewal authorities would have to be certain of the provision of the full range of social services. This would run the gamut, for example, from referrals to visiting nurses and welfare boards to job training and finding programs. It would seem necessary, that those responsible for relocation would have to place the provision of these services on a par with the finding of new housing. In fact, it is not out of line to envision the need for and creation of a type of "family job corps". To its centers, multi-problem families uncovered by renewal could be temporarily relocated. There would be provided a complete range of services - for example, home management and home economics for the wife, job training for the husband, remedial or "headstart" education for the children, and, if necessary, training in the ways of urban living for all. In this way, relocation and renewal might fulfill the possibilities they offer as tools for neighborhood and individual improvement.

No doubt the population of future project areas will be heterogeneous as in Castle Square rather than homogeneous as in the illustrations. Hence, relocation strategy will have to be varied to meet the needs of the different groups in the area. Relocation

policies designed with a view to such social considerations might provide both a framework for discerning one element in the future population pattern of the city and an increase in the range of alternatives open to the families to be displaced. Thus, the final choice as to which relocation method would be followed in an individual case would remain with the family, while, at the same time, the formulation of the general relocation strategy would provide the planner with a range of probabilities, expectancies, and alternatives.

The findings also provide clues to the possible responses of the different classes to a proposed project. It appears that support for an urban renewal project, especially one involving clearance, would not necessarily be forthcoming from a middle class of the type found in Castle Square. Having already achieved, in their own terms, a satisfactory level of living, more reluctant to accept change, less inclined to be mobile, and less desirous of material improvements than the underclass and the other two classes many members of the middle class may perceive renewal as a threat to their position and achievements. Opposition would seem likely from the "accommodated."³ On the other hand, it seems likely that the underclass - more inclined toward change, more mobile, more desirous of improved housing and other material improvements, and at a lower, self-percieved level of

living than the middle class - would support a proposed renewal project as an opportunity to improve their lot. In this vein it must be noted that the greatest support for the operation of urban renewal in Boston came from the underclass - forty three per cent expressing total approval - whether the largest amount of dissent was voiced by the middle class - 29% expressing total disapproval and an additional 7% feeling only resigned to it (Table VII.23).⁴

The above are the major implications which the Castle Square findings suggest for relocation planners and renewal officials. To be sure many of the relocation strategies illustrated above depend upon the provision of a large volume of new low-rent housing units to provide the necessary flexibility. Whether these can ever be supplied by the American central city alone, or in conjunction with its metropolitan community, or whether the city will displace families onto an inadequate housing market and create new slums in other parts of the city remain open questions.⁵ No longer, however, can urban policy-maker claim lack of knowledge of the human consequences of relocation. This and the increasing number of similar studies have provided much if not all of the information necessary for programming social considerations into the renewal process. It is time to begin planning the social, as well as the economic and

physical structure of the city. Social issues should be raised openly and decided explicitly; ^{they should} not be left to follow as unexpected consequences. Such decisions are crucial to the shape of future urbanized society.

Urban renewal is the principal tool at work rebuilding America's central cities. Relocation is the component which most seriously and most directly affects its people. As we have seen, it can have an important impact on the social structure of the city. Relocation can be a major force to direct and promote social change. It should be utilized as such. If the city is truly the people, then the city should be planned for and with its people.

CHAPTER 6 - NOTES

1. See Table VII.23 and pp. 153-154.
2. These distinctions also illustrate the myth of postulating one, uniform "culture of poverty." See also, Herbert Gans, "Poverty and Culture: Some Basic Questions about Methods of Studying Life-Styles of the Poor," paper prepared for the International Seminar on Poverty held at the University of Essex, England, April 3-6, 1967 (26 pp. mimeo).
3. This is not to say that opposition would arise in every instance. Much, of course, would depend on the details and aims of the plan and the involvement of the population in the planning process. However, at the initial mention of renewal for an area, opposition might not be too much to expect, and it is a reaction of which planners must continually be aware.

Interestingly enough, the situation described in the text appears somewhat analogous to the reaction one might anticipate from suburban middle class families upon learning that a new highway is going to go through their backyard and deprive them of their house. To this author, at least, it seems less likely that these families would respond in the self-sacrificing, public-spirited, concern-for-good-government tradition expected of the model middle class political ethos than to voice their dissent and to fight for their homes.

However, this is not to suggest that the suburban, middle class and the "Castle Square" middle class would not support such projects as renewal and highway construction so long as these undertakings do not affect them personally in an adverse way.

4. In fact, these suggestions about expressed responses and the data on the opinion of renewal appear to reaffirm the importance of social class position on the acceptance of economic development generally. They seem to be in line with ideas expressed in the literature on developing countries regarding the opposition to change that is shown by those who have a stake in the existing system. In our case, it appears that the middle class of Castle Square had a similar interest in the status quo of the pre-relocation situation. This suggests that, in a developed society such as the United States, parts

of the middle class may not provide the force behind change which the middle class is often regarded to provide in developing countries. c.f. Reissman, The Urban Process, op. cit., pp. 180-188.

5. See, for example, David Donnison The Government of Housing (Penguin Books, 1967) pp. 211-214.
D. Gergen, "Renewal in the Ghetto: Rehabilitation--In Washington Park," Harvard Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1968.
6. See supra, Chapter 1, p16, note 16.

1. State of New York 1900
2. County of New York 1900
3. City of New York 1900
4. State of New York 1900

State of New York 1900
County of New York 1900
City of New York 1900
State of New York 1900

1. State of New York 1900

APPENDIX I

STATISTICAL PROFILE

CASTLE SQUARE, 1960
(Census Tract I-1)

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (N=782, all households)

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Multi-Member Families	382	48.8
Primary Individuals	400	51.2
	(782)	(100)

HOUSING CONDITION (N=1022, all housing units*)

Sound	85	8.3
Deteriorating	503	49.2
Dilapidated	434	42.3
	(1022)	(99.8)

*Of these, 782 were occupied.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN UNIT (N=782, all households)

Less than 3 years	190	24.3
3 - 6 years	286	36.6
7 - 20 years	221	28.3
More than 20 years	85	10.9
	(782)	(100.1)

SEX (N=1934, total population)

Male	1068	55.2
Female	866	44.8
	(1934)	(100)

1. 10/10/19

2. 10/10/19

3. 10/10/19

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10. 10/10/19

11. 10/10/19

12. 10/10/19

13. 10/10/19

14. 10/10/19

AGE
(N=1934, total population)

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 20 years	579	29.9
20 - 44 years	528	27.3
45- 59 years	404	20.9
60 years and over	423	21.9
	(1934)	(100)

ETHNIC BACKGROUND, by generation
(N=1934, total population)

Foreign Born	533	27.6
First and Second Generation	418	21.6
Native Stock (Third Generation or earlier)	983	50.8
	(1934)	(100)

ETHNIC BACKGROUND, by country
(N=1934, total population)

Italy	180	9.3
USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Poland	157	8.1
Canada	144	7.4
Ireland	66	3.4
United Kingdom	58	3.0
Others	346	17.9
Native U.S.	983	50.8
	(1934)	(99.9)

RACE
(N=1934, total population)

White	1517	78.4
Negro	307	15.9
Other races	110	5.7
	(1934)	(100)

EDUCATION, number of school years completed
(N=1273, persons 25 years old and over)

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No school years completed	71	5.6
Elementary (1 - 8 years)	724	56.9
Some high school (1 - 3 years)	293	23.0
Completed high school (4 years)	153	12.0
Some college (1 - 3 years)	11	.9
Completed college or more	21	1.6
	(1273)	(100)

Median school years completed..... 8.5

EMPLOYMENT STATUS
(N=826, males, 14 years old and over)

Not in labor force			261	31.6
Labor force			565	68.4
Employed	490	86.7%		
Unemployed	75	13.3%		
	(565)	(100)	(826)	(100)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
(N=756, males and females employed)

Professional, technical, and kindred	37	4.9
Managers, officials, and proprietors	31	4.1
Clerical and Sales	102	13.5
Craftsmen, foremen	59	7.8
Operatives	183	24.2
Private Household, service, laborers	241	31.9
Occupation not reported	103	13.6
	(756)	(100)

APPENDIX II

Description of Relocation Staff Responsibilities¹

The Director of Relocation had administrative responsibility for all personnel and work of the residential relocation program and was responsible to the Executive Director of the USES. His duties included overall direction of Family Relocation Workers, the Rehousing Specialists, the Housing Coordinator, and the office personnel. He had responsibility for mobilizing community resources to support effective relocation and for developing neighborhood participation in the relocation program. He was responsible for maintaining liaison with appropriate personnel of the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

The Supervisors of Family Relocation had general supervision of the Relocation Workers. They were responsible for the assignment and reassignment of cases to Relocation Workers. They met with each assigned Relocation Worker periodically to discuss specific problems and the general status of their cases. Each supervisor carried a partial caseload. Supervisors also conducted family interviews in the office when assigned Relocation Workers were in the field. They had responsibility for assisting Relocation Workers in facilitating referrals to other community agencies.

The Relocation Workers had primary responsibility for all contacts with residents of the area. They conducted the initial surveys; maintained regular contact with their active caseload; determined general housing needs; and assisted with problems affecting relocation. Generally workers were assigned to a given number of families in a certain block, and they continued to work with the same families. They also made housing inspections with the assistance of the Rehousing Specialists.

The Rehousing Specialists consulted closely with Relocation Workers to determine the rehousing needs of the residents of Castle Square. They made, or assisted Relocation Workers with, inspections of all new dwellings of relocated residents, whether the relocation was a result of relocation staff referral or not. They assisted home buyers with processing Federal Housing Authority, Veteran's Association, and conventional bank mortgages and also with sale negotiations. They made all referrals to code enforcement agencies.

The Housing Coordinator had responsibility to coordinate all information on housing vacancies and families ready to move. The Housing Coordinator maintained contact with all sources of available listings of housing vacancies; supervised volunteer homefinders; made arrangements for inspections; analyzed housing needs of families ready to move and made monthly reports on inspections and housing referrals to families.

The Administrative Assistant maintained official relocation records, especially the files which were the property of the

1. United South End Settlements, Castle Square Residential Relocation Program Final Report (Boston, february, 1964), p.51.

Boston Redevelopment Authority; submitted periodic reports of relocation progress; compiled statistics relating to the program; ordered supplies; and did general bookkeeping.

The Relocation Secretary maintained social service records and acted as secretary to the Director in handling correspondence and other office detail.

All personnel were asked from time to time to perform duties related to the Relocation Program which were not included in the above job descriptions.

APPENDIX III

THE END

METHOD OF COMBINING SOCIAL CLASS INDICATORS

- Step 1. Assign the case a score on each of the three items in the index. Note the different income groupings for individuals and families.
- Step 2. Sum the separate scores.
- Step 3. Divide the total score by the number of items on which it was based.
- Step 4. Code the respondent according to his final (adjusted) score.

NOTE: If a score is available on only one item, then consider the case to be lacking sufficient information and code accordingly.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

For the year ended December 31, 1964

TO THE STOCKHOLDERS

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Item 1. Occupational Situs

	<u>Score</u>
Group E	1
D	2
C	3
B	4
A	5

Group F receives no score; its class must be determined by its score on the other two items divided by 2.

Item 2. Source of Income

E. Welfare	1
Welfare and pensions	
Welfare and work	
D. Pensions alone	2
C. Pensions and work	3
B. Work alone	4
A. Capital	5
capital and work	
capital and pensions	
capital, work, pensions	

Item 3. Household Annual Income - FAMILIES

E. Less than \$2999	1
D. 0000-5999	2
C. \$6000-7999	3
B. \$8000-9999	4
A. \$10,000 or more	5

Household Annual Income - INDIVIDUALS

E. Less than \$1499	1
D. \$1500-2999	2
C. \$3000-3999	3
B. \$4000-4999	4
A. \$5000 or more	5

SOCIAL CLASS SCORES

<u>Summated Score</u>	<u>Adjusted Score</u>	<u>Rank</u>
3- 4	1.00-1.65	Underclass
5- 7	1.66-2.65	Lower Class
8-10	2.66-3.65	Working Class
11-13	3.66-4.65	Middle Class
14-15	4.66-5.00	Upper Class

Table 1

Item	Value	Percentage
Item 1	100.00	100.00%
Item 2	50.00	50.00%
Item 3	25.00	25.00%
Item 4	12.50	12.50%
Item 5	6.25	6.25%

APPENDIX IV

Table IV.1

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, by Social Class

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. Urbanism Index										
N=112 heads										
More urban	14	74	23	54	19	53	8	57	64	57
Less urban	5	26	20	47	17	47	6	43	48	43
TOTAL	19	100	43	101	36	100	14	100	112	100
B. Age (of head) (N=116)										
20-44 years	8	36	14	33	10	27	5	36	37	32
45-59	6	27	6	14	18	49	5	36	35	30
60 or more	8	36	23	54	9	24	4	29	44	38
TOTAL	22	99	43	101	37	100	14	101	116	100
C. Sex (of head) (N=116)										
Male	7	32	31	72	25	68	12	86	75	65
Female	15	68	12	28	12	32	2	14	41	35
TOTAL	22	100	43	100	37	100	14	100	116	100
D. Race and Ethnicity (N=116 households)										
White	12	55	30	70	26	70	13	93	81	70
Negro	6	27	9	21	5	14	1	7	21	18
Puerto Rican	4	18	-	-	2	5	-	-	6	5
Chinese	-	-	4	9	4	11	-	-	8	7
TOTAL	22	100	43	100	37	100	14	100	116	100
E. Generation (of head) (N= 113)										
Foreign Born	9	43	26	61	23	66	8	57	66	58
First	2	10	6	14	5	14	3	21	16	14
Second	4	19	5	12	2	6	2	14	13	12
Third or earlier	6	29	6	14	5	14	1	7	18	16
TOTAL	21	101	43	101	35	100	14	99	113	100
F. Family Size (N=116 households)										
Multi-member	15	68	23	54	22	59	12	86	75	65
Single person	7	32	20	47	15	41	2	14	41	35
TOTAL	22	100	43	101	37	100	14	100	116	100

Table IV.2

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, by Modernism Typology

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. Urbanism Index (N=115 heads)										
More urban	23	48	6	35	26	74	10	67	65	57
Less urban	25	52	11	65	9	26	5	33	50	43
TOTAL	48	100	17	100	35	100	15	100	115	100
B. Age (of head) (N=119)										
20-44 years	11	23	6	33	16	45	5	31	38	32
45-59	18	37	5	28	7	20	5	31	35	29
60 or more	20	41	7	39	13	36	6	38	46	39
TOTAL	49	101	18	100	36	101	16	100	119	100
C. Sex (of head) (N=119)										
Male	35	71	11	61	20	56	9	56	75	63
Female	14	29	7	39	16	44	7	44	44	37
TOTAL	19	100	18	100	36	100	16	100	119	100
D. Race and Ethnicity (N=119 households)										
White	40	82	12	67	23	64	9	56	84	71
Negro	5	10	6	33	7	19	3	19	21	18
Puerto Rican	2	4	-	-	1	3	3	19	6	5
Chinese	2	4	-	-	5	14	1	6	8	7
TOTAL	49	100	18	100	36	100	16	100	119	101
E. Generation (of head) (N=116)										
Foreign Born	27	55	13	72	20	61	8	50	68	59
First	6	12	2	11	6	18	2	13	16	14
Second	6	12	1	6	4	12	2	13	13	11
Third or earlier	10	20	2	11	3	9	4	25	19	16
TOTAL	49	99	18	100	33	100	16	101	116	100
F. Family Size (N=119 households)										
Multi-member	32	65	10	56	24	67	7	44	73	61
Single person	17	35	8	44	12	33	9	56	46	39
TOTAL	49	100	18	100	36	100	16	100	119	100

APPENDIX V

Table 1

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

(N=either households or heads of households as indicated)

A: Family Size (at time of interview) (N=120 households)

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Multi-member Families	73	61
Single Persons and Unrelated Individuals	47	39
TOTAL	120	100

B. Household Size (at time of relocation) (N=120 households)

One	45	38
Two	27	23
Three	19	16
Four	7	6
Five	8	7
Six	4	3
Seven	5	4
Eight	1	1
Nine or more	3	3
TOTAL	120	101

C. Age (of head) (N=120 heads)

20-44 years	37	31
45-59	35	29
60 or more	48	40
TOTAL	120	100

D. Sex (of head) (N= 120 heads)

Male	76	63
Female	44	37
TOTAL	120	100

E. Generation (of head) (N= 117 heads)

Foreign Born	67	57
First	18	15
Second	13	11
Third or earlier	19	16
TOTAL	117	99

Approximate total size of sample population (318) obtained by multiplying the number of households of a given size by that size and summing the products.

F. Ethnicity (of head) (N= 117)

	N	%
Italian	14	12
Irish	13	11
Greek	13	11
Chinese	8	7
Anglo-Saxon	7	6
Eastern European	7	6
Puerto Rican	6	5
Arab	5	4
Others	21	18
Native U.S. white	10	9
Native U.S. Negro	13	11
TOTAL	117	100

G. Race (N=120 households)

White	90	75
Negro	22	18
Chinese	8	7
TOTAL	120	100

H. Education (of head; last year of school completed)(N=118)

None	10	9
Elementary (1-8 years)	56	47
Some high school (1-3 years)	23	20
Completed high school (4 years)	24	20
Some college	3	3
Completed college or more	2	2
TOTAL	118	101

I. Length of Residence in Castle Square Displacement Address (N=110 households)

2 years or less	5	5
25 months-5 years	28	26
6 years-9 years	17	16
10 years-14 years	14	13
15 years-24 years	25	23
25 years or more	21	19
TOTAL	110	102

Table 2

OCCUPATION AND INCOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

A. Annual Household Income, by household size (N=112)

	MULTI (N= 69)		SINGLE (N= 43)		TOTAL (N=112)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under \$2999	14	20	33	77	47	42
\$3000-5999	34	49	9	21	43	38
\$6000-7999	6	9	1	2	7	6
\$8000 or more	15	22	-	-	15	13
TOTAL	69	100	43	100	112	99

B. Source of Household Income (N= 119 households)

	N	%
Welfare only	14	12
Welfare and pensions	10	8
Welfare and Work	3	3
Pensions only	15	13
Pensions and Work	11	9
Work only	58	49
Capital only	1	1
Capital and Work	3	3
Capital and pensions	3	3
Capital, work and pensions	1	1
TOTAL	119	102

C. Occupation (of head) (N= 120)

Situs A *	-	-
Situs B	-	-
Situs C		
skilled mechanics, tradesmen	11	9
white collar employees	11	9
small businessmen	7	6
community professionals	2	2
minister	1	1
Sub-total	32	
Situs D		
semi-skilled manual	19	16
skilled/semi-skilled personnel	15	13
Sub-total	34	

*The concept of situs is explained on page 21.

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9	7
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90	51

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Table 2 (C) continued

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Situs E		
unskilled labor	18	15
non-government service occupations	10	8
personal service	4	3
marginal entertainers	1	1
Not employed or occupation not given	21	18
Sub-total	54	
TOTAL	120	101

D. Employment Situation (of head) (N= 120 heads)

In Labor Force		
Employed	69	58
Unemployed	7	6
Sub-total	76	
Not in Labor Force		
Retired	28	23
Housewife	13	11
Disabled	3	3
Sub-total	44	
TOTAL	120	101

Approved for release
by NSA on 08-28-2013

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APPENDIX VI

Table VI.1

PRESENT LOCATION OF DISPLACED FAMILIES by Social Class

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. All Families (N=116)										
Inside South End	9	41	18	42	16	43	2	14	45	39
Out 1	8	36	14	33	2	5	-	-	24	21
Out 2	5	23	10	23	15	41	4	29	34	29
Out 3	-	-	1	2	4	11	8	57	13	11
TOTAL	22	100	43	100	37	100	14	100	116	100
B. All One-Move Families* (N= 98)										
Inside South End	6	33	14	39	12	40	2	14	34	35
Out 1	8	44	12	33	1	3	-	-	21	21
Out 2	4	22	10	28	13	43	4	29	31	32
Out 3	-	-	-	-	4	13	8	57	12	12
TOTAL	18	99	36	100	30	99	14	100	98	100
C. White, One-Move Families in Private Housing Only (N=59)										
Inside South End	2	33	6	30	8	40	2	15	18	31
Out 1	4	67	9	45	1	5	-	-	14	24
Out 2	-	-	5	25	8	40	3	23	16	27
Out 3	-	-	-	-	3	15	8	62	11	19
TOTAL	6	100	20	100	17	100	13	100	59	100

*"One-move families" refers to those families who remained at the address to which they were relocated - i.e., those who had not moved again between the time of relocation and the time of the interview.

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Table VI.2

PRESENT LOCATION OF DISPLACED FAMILIES, by Modernism Typology

		MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
<hr/>											
A. All Families (N= 119)											
Inside South End		17	35	8	44	12	33	9	56	46	39
Out 1		9	18	6	33	7	19	2	13	24	20
Out 2		14	29	4	22	13	36	4	25	35	29
Out 3		9	18	-	-	4	11	1	6	14	12
<hr/>											
TOTAL		49	100	18	99	36	99	16	100	119	100
<hr/>											
B. All One-Move Families* (N= 102)											
Inside South End		12	29	7	47	10	31	7	50	36	35
Out 1		8	20	4	27	7	22	2	14	21	21
Out 2		13	32	4	27	11	34	4	29	32	31
Out 3		8	20	-	-	4	13	1	7	13	13
<hr/>											
TOTAL		41	101	15	101	32	100	14	100	102	100
<hr/>											
C. White, One-Move Families in Private Housing Only (N= 59)											
Inside South End		8	27	5	63	3	17	3	75	19	32
Out 1		7	23	2	25	4	22	1	25	14	23
Out 2		8	27	1	13	7	39	-	-	16	27
Out 3		7	23	-	-	4	22	-	-	11	18
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TOTAL		30	100	8	101	18	100	4	100	60	100

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Defined in Table VI.1.

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Table VI.3

REASONS FOR SELECTING PRESENT RESIDENCE,* by Social Class

	Under (N=18)		Lower (N=36)		Working (N=30)		Middle (N=14)		Total (N=98)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. Specific Reasons (N=98)										
Economic Con- siderations	3	17	9	25	12	40	5	36	29	30
Quality of the dwelling	1	6	5	14	14	47	4	29	24	24
Liked new neigh- borhood	1	6	8	22	10	33	6	43	25	26
Social relation- ships and near relatives	2	11	4	12	4	13	3	21	13	13
Used to neigh- borhood	2	11	1	3	1	3	-	-	4	4
Chance knowledge	-	-	9	25	1	3	-	-	10	10
No choice assigned	5	28	6	17	3	10	1	7	15	15
No choice forced out	5	28	8	22	5	17	-	-	18	18
Others	4	22	1	3	1	3	-	-	6	6
<hr/>										
TOTAL**										
B. Typology of Reas- ons (N= 98)										
Positive	4	22	22	61	20	67	8	57	54	55
Mixed	2	11	2	6	3	10	2	14	9	9
Neutral	8	44	5	14	1	3	4	29	18	18
Negative	4	22	7	19	6	20	-	-	17	17
<hr/>										
TOTAL	18	99	36	100	30	100	14	100	98	99

*This table only includes "one-move" families as defined in Table VI.1.

**Totals are not applicable here because a respondent may have cited more than one reason. Percentages are based on the number of respondents in each class.

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Table VI.4

REASONS FOR ELECTING PRESENT RESIDENCE,* by Modernism Typology

	MM (N=41)		MT (N=15)		TM (N=32)		TT (N=14)		TOTAL (N=102)	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
A. Specific Reasons (N= 102)										
Economic consid- erations	12	29	3	20	11	34	4	29	30	29
Quality of the dwelling	11	27	1	7	9	28	5	36	26	25
Liked new neigh- borhood	10	24	2	13	9	28	4	29	25	25
Social relation- ships and near relatives	4	10	2	13	7	22	1	7	14	14
Used to neigh- borhood	2	5	-	-	-	-	2	14	4	4
Chance knowledge	6	15	2	13	2	6	-	-	10	10
No choice - assigned	5	12	2	13	5	16	3	21	15	15
No choice - forced out	4	10	8	53	5	16	4	29	21	21
Others	9	22	-	-	1	3	1	7	11	11
TOTAL**										
B. Typology of Reasons (N= 102)										
Positive	24	59	5	33	21	66	6	43	56	55
Mixed	4	10	-	-	2	6	4	29	10	10
Neutral	9	22	2	13	4	13	3	21	18	18
Negative	4	10	8	53	5	16	1	7	18	18
TOTAL	41	101	15	99	32	101	14	100	102	101

*This table only includes "one-move" families as defined in Table VI.1.

**Totals are not applicable here because a respondent may have cited more than one reason. Percentages are based on the number of respondents of each type.

Table VI.5
 TYPOLOGY OF HOUSING DESIRES, by Social Class
 (N=110)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Luxury	4	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Modest	7	33	14	36	16	44	8	57	45	41
Basic	5	24	16	41	16	44	6	43	43	39
None-satisfied	4	19	5	13	3	8	-	-	12	11
None-realistic	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	2	2
None-resignation	1	5	2	5	1	3	-	-	4	4
TOTAL	21	100	39	100	36	99	14	100	110	101

Table VI.6
 TYPOLOGY OF HOUSING DESIRES, by Modernism Typology
 (N=112)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Luxury	-	-	2	13	1	3	1	6	4	4
Modest	22	48	8	50	13	38	3	19	46	41
Basic	19	41	4	25	14	41	7	44	44	39
None-satisfied	1	2	2	13	5	15	4	25	12	11
None-realistic	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
None-resignation	2	4	-	-	1	3	1	6	4	4
TOTAL	46	99	16	101	34	100	16	100	112	101

Table VI.7

HOUSING, by Social Class

A. Mean Past and Present Housing Ladder Ratings

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>
Middle	4.9	6.6
Lower Three Classes	5.1	4.9
under	4.5	4.2
lower	5.9	5.3
working	4.6	4.7

B. Comparison of Housing Ladder Ratings (N=111)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Lower 3</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Present												
Higher	10	50	9	22	14	39	33	34	6	43	39	35
Same	2	10	13	32	6	17	21	22	8	57	29	26
Present												
Lower	8	40	19	46	16	45	43	44	-	-	43	39
TOTAL	20	100	41	100	36	101	97	100	14	100	111	100

C. Comparison of Castle Square and Present Neighborhood (N=116)

Present												
better	9	41	18	42	21	57	48	47	11	79	59	51
Same	1	5	13	30	4	11	18	18	1	7	19	16
Present												
worse	12	55	12	28	12	32	36	35	2	14	38	33
TOTAL	22	101	43	100	37	100	102	100	14	100	116	100

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Table VI.8
HOUSING, by Modernism Typology

A. Mean Past and Present Housing Ladder Ratings

<u>Typology</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>
MM	5.1	4.7
MT	6.2	4.8
TM	4.9	5.6
TT	4.0	5.7

B. Comparison of Housing Ladder Ratings (N=114)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		TOTAL	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Present higher	17	37	3	17	14	39	7	50	41	36
Same	13	28	4	22	9	25	4	29	30	26
Present lower	16	35	11	61	13	36	3	21	43	38
TOTAL	46	100	18	100	36	100	14	100	114	100

C. Comparison of Castle Square and Present Neighborhood (N=119)

Present better	28	57	9	50	18	50	5	31	60	50
Same	8	16	2	11	7	19	3	19	20	17
Present worse	13	27	7	39	11	31	8	50	39	33
TOTAL	49	100	18	100	36	100	16	100	119	100

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1. () 2. () 3. () 4. () 5. () 6. () 7. () 8. () 9. () 10. ()

Table VI.9

MOVING INTENTIONS PRIOR TO REDEVELOPMENT, by Social Class
(N=116)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Planning to or thinking of moving	8	36	6	14	9	24	7	50	30	26
Planning to stay in Castle Square	14	64	37	86	28	76	7	50	86	74
	22	100	43	100	37	100	14	100	116	100

Table VI. 10

HOUSING, by Moving Intentions Prior to Redevelopment

A. Mean Past and Present Housing Ladder Ratings

<u>Intentions</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>
Intend to move	3.3	5.2
Plan to stay	5.6	5.1

B. Comparison of Housing Ladder Ratings (N= 115)

	<u>Intend to move</u>		<u>Plan to stay</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Present higher	14	54	27	30	41	36
Same	8	31	22	25	30	26
Present lower	4	15	40	45	44	38
TOTAL	26	100	89	100	115	100

C. Comparison of Castle Square and Present Neighborhood (N=120)

Present better	21	70	39	43	60	50
Same	2	7	18	20	20	17
Present worse	7	23	33	37	40	33
TOTAL	30	100	90	100	120	100

Table VI.11

HOUSING, by Present Location

<u>Location</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>
Inside South End	5.3	4.8
Out 1	4.9	4.2
Out 2	5.5	5.5
Out 3	3.6	6.6

B. Comparison of Housing Ladder Ratings (N= 115)

	<u>Inside</u>		<u>Out 1</u>		<u>Out 2</u>		<u>Out 3</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Present higher	11	24	6	27	14	41	10	71	41	36
Same	13	29	6	27	7	21	4	29	30	26
Present lower	21	47	10	46	13	38	-	-	44	38
TOTAL	45	100	22	100	34	100	14	100	115	100

C. Comparison of Castle Square and Present Neighborhood (N=120)

Present better	14	30	12	50	21	60	13	93	60	50
Same	12	26	4	17	3	9	1	7	20	17
Present worse	21	45	8	33	11	31	-	-	40	33
TOTAL	47	101	24	100	35	100	14	100	120	100

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY WATER RESOURCES DIVISION

Station	Location	Depth
100	100	100
100	100	100
100	100	100
100	100	100

(continued on next page)

Station	Location	Depth	Water	Temperature	Direction
100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100	100	100

(continued on next page)

Station	Location	Depth	Water	Temperature	Direction
100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100	100	100
100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VI. 12. HOUSING TENURE OF ALL ONE-MOVE FAMILIES,
by Social Class (n = 98)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Privately owned	-	-	1	3	4	13	8	57	13	13
Private Rental	8	44	27	75	23	77	6	43	64	65
Public housing	10	56	8	22	3	10	-	-	21	21
TOTAL	18	100	36	100	30	100	14	100	98	99

TABLE VI. 13. METHOD OF RELOCATION OF ALL FAMILIES,
by Social Class (N = 116)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self-Relocated	7	33	31	73	32	86	9	64	79	68
BRA-Relocated	15	68	12	28	5	14	5	36	37	32
TOTAL	22	101	43	101	37	100	14	100	116	100

TABLE VI. 14 ALIENATION OF ONE-MOVE FAMILIES
by Social Class (N = 96)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Highly alienated	11	65	12	34	8	27	2	14	33	34
Somewhat "	3	18	10	29	11	37	6	43	30	31
Not at all "	3	18	13	37	11	37	6	43	33	34
TOTAL	17	101	35	100	30	101	14	100	96	99

Index	Value	Index	Value	Index	Value	Index	Value
11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1
22	2	22	2	22	2	22	2
33	3	33	3	33	3	33	3
44	4	44	4	44	4	44	4
55	5	55	5	55	5	55	5
66	6	66	6	66	6	66	6
77	7	77	7	77	7	77	7
88	8	88	8	88	8	88	8
99	9	99	9	99	9	99	9

TABLE VI. 15. HOUSING TENURE OF ALL ONE-MOVE FAMILIES,
by Modernism Typology (N = 102)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Privately owned	7	17	2	13	4	13	-	-	13	13
Private rental	28	68	10	67	22	69	6	43	66	65
Public Housing	6	15	3	20	6	19	8	57	23	23
TOTAL	41	100	15	100	32	101	14	100	102	101

TABLE VI. 16. METHOD OF RELOCATION OF ALL FAMILIES,
by Modernism Typology (N = 119)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self-relocated	37	76	11	61	25	69	8	50	81	68
BRA- "	12	25	7	39	11	31	8	50	38	32
TOTAL	49	101	18	100	36	100	16	100	119	100

TABLE VI. 17. ALIENATION OF ONE-MOVE FAMILIES,
by Modernism Typology (N = 100)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Highly alienated	9	23	8	57	12	38	5	36	34	34
Somewhat "	14	35	3	21	9	28	6	43	32	32
Not at all "	17	43	3	21	11	34	3	21	34	34
TOTAL	40	101	14	99	32	100	14	100	100	100

TABLE VI. 18. OBSERVED HOUSING CONDITION OF ALL FAMILIES,
by Social Class (N = 116)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Lower Three Classes</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standard	17	77	38	88	31	84	86	84	13	93	99	85
Substandard	5	23	5	12	6	16	16	16	1	7	17	15
TOTAL	22	100	43	100	37	100	102	100	14	100	116	100

TABLE VI. 19. OBSERVED HOUSING CONDITION OF ALL FAMILIES,
by Modernism Typology (N = 118)

	<u>MM</u>		<u>MT</u>		<u>TM</u>		<u>TT</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Standard	47	96	15	83	29	81	12	75	103	87
Substandard	2	4	3	17	7	19	4	25	16	14
TOTAL	49	100	18	100	36	100	16	100	118	101

APPENDIX VII

Table VII.1
LIFE SITUATION,* by Social Class

A. Mean Past, Present, and Future Personal Ladder Ratings

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Future</u>
Under	5.3	4.95	5.5
Lower	5.2	4.8	6.0
Working	5.1	4.3	5.8
Middle	6.6	7.9	8.8

B. Comparison of Present and Past Personal Ladder Ratings (N=111)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Present higher	8	42	17	42	10	27	8	57	43	39
Same	5	26	12	29	15	41	6	43	38	34
Present lower	6	32	12	29	12	32	-	-	30	27
TOTAL	19	100	41	100	37	100	14	100	111	100

C. Comparison of Situations Before and After Relocation Specifically (N=114)

Better off now	7	32	15	37	13	35	5	36	40	35
About the same	6	27	9	22	9	25	5	36	29	25
Better off in Castle Square	9	41	17	41	15	40	4	28	45	39
TOTAL	22	100	41	100	37	100	14	100	114	99

D. Amount of Change in Life Since Relocation (N=116)

In almost every way	4	18	2	5	2	5	2	14	10	9
In many ways	5	23	2	5	6	16	-	-	13	11
In a few ways	2	9	9	21	9	24	2	14	22	19
Hardly at all	11	50	30	70	20	54	10	71	71	61
TOTAL	22	100	43	101	37	99	14	99	116	100

E. Comparison of Future and Present Personal Ladder Ratings (N=87)

Future higher	4	31	11	39	23	68	6	50	44	51
Same	7	54	15	54	8	24	6	50	36	41
Future lower	2	15	2	7	3	9	-	-	7	8
TOTAL	13	100	28	100	34	101	12	100	87	100

A, B, and E refer to the personal ladder reflecting the respondent's perception of his general situation. C and D refer to specific questions on before and after relocation situations.

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Department of Chemistry

Element	Symbol	Atomic Weight	Valence
Hydrogen	H	1.008	1
Helium	He	4.003	0
Lithium	Li	6.941	1
Boron	B	10.811	3
Carbon	C	12.011	4
Nitrogen	N	14.007	3
Oxygen	O	15.999	2
Fluorine	F	18.998	1
Neon	Ne	20.180	0
Sodium	Na	22.990	1
Magnesium	Mg	24.305	2
Aluminum	Al	26.982	3
Silicon	Si	28.086	4
Phosphorus	P	30.974	3
Sulfur	S	32.065	2
Chlorine	Cl	35.453	1
Argon	Ar	39.948	0
Potassium	K	39.098	1
Calcium	Ca	40.078	2
Scandium	Sc	44.956	3
Titanium	Ti	47.88	4
Vanadium	V	50.942	3
Chromium	Cr	51.996	3
Manganese	Mn	54.938	2
Iron	Fe	55.847	2
Cobalt	Co	58.933	2
Nickel	Ni	58.69	2
Copper	Cu	63.546	1
Zinc	Zn	65.38	2
Gallium	Ga	69.723	3
Germanium	Ge	72.63	4
Arsenic	As	74.922	3
Selenium	Se	78.96	2
Bromine	Br	79.904	1
Krypton	Kr	83.80	0
Rubidium	Rb	85.468	1
Strontium	Sr	87.62	2
Yttrium	Y	88.906	3
Zirconium	Zr	91.224	4
Niobium	Nb	92.906	3
Molybdenum	Mo	95.94	2
Technetium	Tc	98.906	3
Ruthenium	Ru	101.07	2
Rhodium	Rh	102.91	3
Palladium	Pd	106.42	2
Silver	Ag	107.87	1
Cadmium	Cd	112.41	2
Indium	In	114.82	3
Tin	Sn	118.71	4
Antimony	Sb	121.76	3
Tellurium	Te	127.6	2
Iodine	I	126.90	1
Xenon	Xe	131.29	0
Cesium	Cs	132.91	1
Barium	Ba	137.33	2
Lanthanum	La	138.91	3
Cerium	Ce	140.12	3
Praseodymium	Pr	140.91	3
Neodymium	Nd	144.24	3
Europium	Eu	151.96	3
Gadolinium	Gd	157.25	3
Terbium	Tb	158.93	3
Dysprosium	Dy	162.50	3
Ho	Ho	164.93	3
Er	Er	167.26	3
Tm	Tm	168.93	3
Yb	Yb	173.05	3
Lu	Lu	174.97	3
Hafnium	Hf	178.49	4
Tantalum	Ta	180.95	3
Tungsten	W	183.84	4
Rhenium	Re	186.21	3
Osmium	Os	190.23	4
Iridium	Ir	192.22	3
Platinum	Pt	195.08	2
Gold	Au	196.97	1
Mercury	Hg	200.59	2
Thallium	Tl	204.38	3
Lead	Pb	207.2	2
Bismuth	Bi	208.98	3
Polonium	Po	209	2
Astatine	At	210	3
Radium	Ra	226	2
Actinium	Ac	227	3
Thorium	Th	232.04	4
Protactinium	Pa	231.04	3
Uranium	U	238.03	4
Np	Np	237.05	3
Pu	Pu	244.06	3
Americium	Am	243.06	3
Cm	Cm	247.07	3
Berkelium	Bk	247.07	3
Californium	Cf	251.08	3
Einsteinium	Es	252.08	3
Fermium	Fm	257.10	3
Mendelevium	Md	258.10	3
Nobelium	No	259.10	3
Lr	Lr	262.11	3

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Element	Symbol	Atomic Weight	Valence
Hydrogen	H	1.008	1
Helium	He	4.003	0
Lithium	Li	6.941	1
Boron	B	10.811	3
Carbon	C	12.011	4
Nitrogen	N	14.007	3
Oxygen	O	15.999	2
Fluorine	F	18.998	1
Neon	Ne	20.180	0
Sodium	Na	22.990	1
Magnesium	Mg	24.305	2
Aluminum	Al	26.982	3
Silicon	Si	28.086	4
Phosphorus	P	30.974	3
Sulfur	S	32.065	2
Chlorine	Cl	35.453	1
Argon	Ar	39.948	0
Potassium	K	39.098	1
Calcium	Ca	40.078	2
Scandium	Sc	44.956	3
Titanium	Ti	47.88	4
Vanadium	V	50.942	3
Chromium	Cr	51.996	3
Manganese	Mn	54.938	2
Iron	Fe	55.847	2
Cobalt	Co	58.933	2
Nickel	Ni	58.69	2
Copper	Cu	63.546	1
Zinc	Zn	65.38	2
Gallium	Ga	69.723	3
Germanium	Ge	72.63	4
Arsenic	As	74.922	3
Selenium	Se	78.96	2
Bromine	Br	79.904	1
Krypton	Kr	83.80	0
Rubidium	Rb	85.468	1
Strontium	Sr	87.62	2
Yttrium	Y	88.906	3
Zirconium	Zr	91.224	4
Niobium	Nb	92.906	3
Molybdenum	Mo	95.94	2
Technetium	Tc	98.906	3
Ruthenium	Ru	101.07	2
Rhodium	Rh	102.91	3
Palladium	Pd	106.42	2
Silver	Ag	107.87	1
Cadmium	Cd	112.41	2
Indium	In	114.82	3
Tin	Sn	118.71	4
Antimony	Sb	121.76	3
Tellurium	Te	127.6	2
Iodine	I	126.90	1
Xenon	Xe	131.29	0
Cesium	Cs	132.91	1
Barium	Ba	137.33	2
Lanthanum	La	138.91	3
Cerium	Ce	140.12	3
Praseodymium	Pr	140.91	3
Neodymium	Nd	144.24	3
Europium	Eu	151.96	3
Gadolinium	Gd	157.25	3
Terbium	Tb	158.93	3
Dysprosium	Dy	162.50	3
Ho	Ho	164.93	3
Er	Er	167.26	3
Tm	Tm	168.93	3
Yb	Yb	173.05	3
Lu	Lu	174.97	3
Hafnium	Hf	178.49	4
Tantalum	Ta	180.95	3
Tungsten	W	183.84	4
Rhenium	Re	186.21	3
Osmium	Os	190.23	4
Iridium	Ir	192.22	3
Platinum	Pt	195.08	2
Gold	Au	196.97	1
Mercury	Hg	200.59	2
Thallium	Tl	204.38	3
Lead	Pb	207.2	2
Bismuth	Bi	208.98	3
Polonium	Po	209	2
Astatine	At	210	3
Radium	Ra	226	2
Actinium	Ac	227	3
Thorium	Th	232.04	4
Protactinium	Pa	231.04	3
Uranium	U	238.03	4
Np	Np	237.05	3
Pu	Pu	244.06	3
Americium	Am	243.06	3
Cm	Cm	247.07	3
Berkelium	Bk	247.07	3
Californium	Cf	251.08	3
Einsteinium	Es	252.08	3
Fermium	Fm	257.10	3
Mendelevium	Md	258.10	3
Nobelium	No	259.10	3
Lr	Lr	262.11	3

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Element	Symbol	Atomic Weight	Valence
Hydrogen	H	1.008	1
Helium	He	4.003	0
Lithium	Li	6.941	1
Boron	B	10.811	3
Carbon	C	12.011	4
Nitrogen	N	14.007	3
Oxygen	O	15.999	2
Fluorine	F	18.998	1
Neon	Ne	20.180	0
Sodium	Na	22.990	1
Magnesium	Mg	24.305	2
Aluminum	Al	26.982	3
Silicon	Si	28.086	4
Phosphorus	P	30.974	3
Sulfur	S	32.065	2
Chlorine	Cl	35.453	1
Argon	Ar	39.948	0
Potassium	K	39.098	1
Calcium	Ca	40.078	2
Scandium	Sc	44.956	3
Titanium	Ti	47.88	4
Vanadium	V	50.942	3
Chromium	Cr	51.996	3
Manganese	Mn	54.938	2
Iron	Fe	55.847	2
Cobalt	Co	58.933	2
Nickel	Ni	58.69	2
Copper	Cu	63.546	1
Zinc	Zn	65.38	2
Gallium	Ga	69.723	3
Germanium	Ge	72.63	4
Arsenic	As	74.922	3
Selenium	Se	78.96	2
Bromine	Br	79.904	1
Krypton	Kr	83.80	0
Rubidium	Rb	85.468	1
Strontium	Sr	87.62	2
Yttrium	Y	88.906	3
Zirconium	Zr	91.224	4
Niobium	Nb	92.906	3
Molybdenum	Mo	95.94	2
Technetium	Tc	98.906	3
Ruthenium	Ru	101.07	2
Rhodium	Rh	102.91	3
Palladium	Pd	106.42	2
Silver	Ag	107.87	1
Cadmium	Cd	112.41	2
Indium	In	114.82	3
Tin	Sn	118.71	4
Antimony	Sb	121.76	3
Tellurium	Te	127.6	2
Iodine	I	126.90	1
Xenon	Xe	131.29	0
Cesium	Cs	132.91	1
Barium	Ba	137.33	2
Lanthanum	La	138.91	3
Cerium	Ce	140.12	3
Praseodymium	Pr	140.91	3
Neodymium	Nd	144.24	3
Europium	Eu	151.96	3
Gadolinium	Gd	157.25	3
Terbium	Tb	158.93	3
Dysprosium	Dy	162.50	3
Ho	Ho	164.93	3
Er	Er	167.26	3
Tm	Tm	168.93	3
Yb	Yb	173.05	3
Lu	Lu	174.97	3
Hafnium	Hf	178.49	4
Tantalum	Ta	180.95	3
Tungsten	W	183.84	4
Rhenium	Re	186.21	3
Osmium	Os	190.23	4
Iridium	Ir	192.22	3
Platinum	Pt	195.08	2
Gold	Au	196.97	1
Mercury	Hg	200.59	2
Thallium	Tl	204.38	3
Lead	Pb	207.2	2
Bismuth	Bi	208.98	3
Polonium	Po	209	2
Astatine	At	210	3
Radium	Ra	226	2
Actinium	Ac	227	3
Thorium	Th	232.04	4
Protactinium	Pa	231.04	3
Uranium	U	238.03	4
Np	Np	237.05	3
Pu	Pu	244.06	3
Americium	Am	243.06	3
Cm	Cm	247.07	3
Berkelium	Bk	247.07	3
Californium	Cf	251.08	3
Einsteinium	Es	252.08	3
Fermium	Fm	257.10	3
Mendelevium	Md	258.10	3
Nobelium	No	259.10	3
Lr	Lr	262.11	3

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Table VII.2

ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE, by Social Class
(N= 112)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High acceptance of change	4	20	5	12	7	19	1	7	17	15
Moderate acceptance of change	6	30	13	32	8	22	1	7	28	25
Low acceptance of change	7	35	16	39	20	54	7	50	50	45
No acceptance of change	3	15	7	17	2	5	5	36	17	15
TOTAL	20	100	41	100	37	100	14	100	112	100

Table VII.3

ALIENATION,* by Social Class
(N= 113)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Highly alienated	11	55	14	33	12	32	2	14	39	35
Somewhat alienated	5	25	11	26	11	30	6	43	33	29
Not at all "	4	20	17	41	14	38	6	43	41	36
TOTAL	20	100	42	100	37	100	14	100	113	100

*Alienation in terms of feelings of lack of meaning and opportunity in life.

Table No VII.4

MOBILITY, by Social Class (N= 113)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High mobility	12	60	29	69	15	41	4	29	60	53
Low mobility	8	40	13	31	22	60	10	71	53	47
TOTAL	20	100	42	100	37	101	14	100	113	100

Table VII.5

IMPORTANCE OF HOUSING, by Social Class (N=118)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Important	32	67	9	50	23	63	14	88	78	66
Unimportant	16	34	9	50	13	36	2	12	40	34
TOTAL	48	101	18	100	36	99	16	100	118	100

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE YEAR (1961)

Category	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1899	1898	1897	1896	1895	1894	1893	1892	1891	1890	1889	1888	1887	1886	1885	1884	1883	1882	1881	1880	1879	1878	1877	1876	1875	1874	1873	1872	1871	1870	1869	1868	1867	1866	1865	1864	1863	1862	1861	1860	1859	1858	1857	1856	1855	1854	1853	1852	1851	1850	1849	1848	1847	1846	1845	1844	1843	1842	1841	1840	1839	1838	1837	1836	1835	1834	1833	1832	1831	1830	1829	1828	1827	1826	1825	1824	1823	1822	1821	1820	1819	1818	1817	1816	1815	1814	1813	1812	1811	1810	1809	1808	1807	1806	1805	1804	1803	1802	1801	1800	1799	1798	1797	1796	1795	1794	1793	1792	1791	1790	1789	1788	1787	1786	1785	1784	1783	1782	1781	1780	1779	1778	1777	1776	1775	1774	1773	1772	1771	1770	1769	1768	1767	1766	1765	1764	1763	1762	1761	1760	1759	1758	1757	1756	1755	1754	1753	1752	1751	1750	1749	1748	1747	1746	1745	1744	1743	1742	1741	1740	1739	1738	1737	1736	1735	1734	1733	1732	1731	1730	1729	1728	1727	1726	1725	1724	1723	1722	1721	1720	1719	1718	1717	1716	1715	1714	1713	1712	1711	1710	1709	1708	1707	1706	1705	1704	1703	1702	1701	1700	1699	1698	1697	1696	1695	1694	1693	1692	1691	1690	1689	1688	1687	1686	1685	1684	1683	1682	1681	1680	1679	1678	1677	1676	1675	1674	1673	1672	1671	1670	1669	1668	1667	1666	1665	1664	1663	1662	1661	1660	1659	1658	1657	1656	1655	1654	1653	1652	1651	1650	1649	1648	1647	1646	1645	1644	1643	1642	1641	1640	1639	1638	1637	1636	1635	1634	1633	1632	1631	1630	1629	1628	1627	1626	1625	1624	1623	1622	1621	1620	1619	1618	1617	1616	1615	1614	1613	1612	1611	1610	1609	1608	1607	1606	1605	1604	1603	1602	1601	1600	1599	1598	1597	1596	1595	1594	1593	1592	1591	1590	1589	1588	1587	1586	1585	1584	1583	1582	1581	1580	1579	1578	1577	1576	1575	1574	1573	1572	1571	1570	1569	1568	1567	1566	1565	1564	1563	1562	1561	1560	1559	1558	1557	1556	1555	1554	1553	1552	1551	1550	1549	1548	1547	1546	1545	1544	1543	1542	1541	1540	1539	1538	1537	1536	1535	1534	1533	1532	1531	1530	1529	1528	1527	1526	1525	1524	1523	1522	1521	1520	1519	1518	1517	1516	1515	1514	1513	1512	1511	1510	1509	1508	1507	1506	1505	1504	1503	1502	1501	1500	1499	1498	1497	1496	1495	1494	1493	1492	1491	1490	1489	1488	1487	1486	1485	1484	1483	1482	1481	1480	1479	1478	1477	1476	1475	1474	1473	1472	1471	1470	1469	1468	1467	1466	1465	1464	1463	1462	1461	1460	1459	1458	1457	1456	1455	1454	1453	1452	1451	1450	1449	1448	1447	1446	1445	1444	1443	1442	1441	1440	1439	1438	1437	1436	1435	1434	1433	1432	1431	1430	1429	1428	1427	1426	1425	1424	1423	1422	1421	1420	1419	1418	1417	1416	1415	1414	1413	1412	1411	1410	1409	1408	1407	1406	1405	1404	1403	1402	1401	1400	1399	1398	1397	1396	1395	1394	1393	1392	1391	1390	1389	1388	1387	1386	1385	1384	1383	1382	1381	1380	1379	1378	1377	1376	1375	1374	1373	1372	1371	1370	1369	1368	1367	1366	1365	1364	1363	1362	1361	1360	1359	1358	1357	1356	1355	1354	1353	1352	1351	1350	1349	1348	1347	1346	1345	1344	1343	1342	1341	1340	1339	1338	1337	1336	1335	1334	1333	1332	1331	1330	1329	1328	1327	1326	1325	1324	1323	1322	1321	1320	1319	1318	1317	1316	1315	1314	1313	1312	1311	1310	1309	1308	1307	1306	1305	1304	1303	1302	1301	1300	1299	1298	1297	1296	1295	1294	1293	1292	1291	1290	1289	1288	1287	1286	1285	1284	1283	1282	1281	1280	1279	1278	1277	1276	1275	1274	1273	1272	1271	1270	1269	1268	1267	1266	1265	1264	1263	1262	1261	1260	1259	1258	1257	1256	1255	1254	1253	1252	1251	1250	1249	1248	1247	1246	1245	1244	1243	1242	1241	1240	1239	1238	1237	1236	1235	1234	1233	1232	1231	1230	1229	1228	1227	1226	1225	1224	1223	1222	1221	1220	1219	1218	1217	1216	1215	1214	1213	1212	1211	1210	1209	1208	1207	1206	1205	1204	1203	1202	1201	1200	1199	1198	1197	1196	1195	1194	1193	1192	1191	1190	1189	1188	1187	1186	1185	1184	1183	1182	1181	1180	1179	1178	1177	1176	1175	1174	1173	1172	1171	1170	1169	1168	1167	1166	1165	1164	1163	1162	1161	1160	1159	1158	1157	1156	1155	1154	1153	1152	1151	1150	1149	1148	1147	1146	1145	1144	1143	1142	1141	1140	1139	1138	1137	1136	1135	1134	1133	1132	1131	1130	1129	1128	1127	1126	1125	1124	1123	1122	1121	1120	1119	1118	1117	1116	1115	1114	1113	1112	1111	1110	1109	1108	1107	1106	1105	1104	1103	1102	1101	1100	1099	1098	1097	1096	1095	1094	1093	1092	1091	1090	1089	1088	1087	1086	1085	1084	1083	1082	1081	1080	1079	1078	1077	1076	1075	1074	1073	1072	1071	1070	1069	1068	1067	1066	1065	1064	1063	1062	1061	1060	1059	1058	1057	1056	1055	1054	1053	1052	1051	1050	1049	1048	1047	1046	1045	1044	1043	1042	1041	1040	1039	1038	1037	1036	1035	1034	1033	1032	1031	1030	1029	1028	1027	1026	1025	1024	1023	1022	1021	1020	1019	1018	1017	1016	1015	1014	1013	1012	1011	1010	1009	1008	1007	1006	1005	1004	1003	1002	1001	1000	999	998	997	996	995	994	993	992	991	990	989	988	987	986	985	984	983	982	981	980	979	978	977	976	975	974	973	972	971	970	969	968	967	966	965	964	963	962	961	960	959	958	957	956	955	954	953	952	951	950	949	948	947	946	945	944	943	942	941	940	939	938	937	936	935	934	933	932	931	930	929	928	927	926	925	924	923	922	921	920	919	918	917	916	915	914	913	912	911	910	909	908	907	906	905	904	903	902	901	900	899	898	897	896	895	894	893	892	891	890	889	888	887	886	885	884	883	882	881	880	879	878	877	876	875	874	873	872	871	870	869	868	867	866	865	864	863	862	861	860	859	858	857	856	855	854	853	852	851	850	849	848	847	846	845	844	843	842	841	840	839	838	837	836	835	834	833	832	831	830	829	828	827	826	825	824	823	822	821	820	819	818	817	816	815	814	813	812	811	810	809	808	807	806	805	804	803	802	801	800	799	798	797	796	795	794	793	792	791	790	789	788	787	786	785	784	783	782	781	780	779	778	777	776	775	774	773	772	771	770	769	768	767	766	765	764	763	762	761	760	759	758	757	756	755	754	753	752	751	750	749	748	747	746	745	744	743	742	741	740	739	738	737	736	735	734	733	732	731	730	729	728	727	726	725	724	723	722	721	720	719	718	717	716	715	714	713	712	711	710	709	708	707	706	705	704	703	702	701	700	699	698	697	696	695	694	693	692	691	690	689	688	687	686	685	684	683	682	681	680	679	678	677	676	675	674	673	672	671	670	669	668	667	666	665	664	663	662	661	660	659	658	657	656	655	654	653	652	651	650	649	648	647	646	645	644	643	642	641	640	639	638	637	636	635	634	633	632	631	630	629	628	627	626	625	624	623	622	621	620	619	618	617	616	615	614	613	612	611	610	609	608	607	606	605	604	603	602	601	600	599	598	597	596	595	594	593	592	591	590	589	588	587	586	585	584	583	582	581	580	579	578	577	576	575	574	573	572	571	570	569	568	567	566	565	564	563	562	561	560	559	558	557	556	555	554	553	552	551	550	549	548	547	54
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Table VII.6
LIFE SITUATION,* by Modernism Typology

A. Mean Past, Present, and Future Personal Ladder Ratings

	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Future</u>
MM	5.4	5.1	6.4
MT	5.9	4.5	4.8
TM	5.2	5.5	6.9
TT	5.1	5.0	6.4

B. Comparison of Present and Past Personal Ladder Ratings (N=114)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Present higher	19	40	2	13	20	56	3	21	44	39
Same	16	33	5	31	11	31	8	57	40	35
Present lower	13	27	9	56	5	14	3	27	30	26
TOTAL	48	100	16	100	36	101	14	105	114	100

C. Comparison of Situations Before and After Relocation
Specifically (N=118)

Better off now	20	42	2	11	11	31	9	56	42	36
About the same	9	19	5	28	14	39	2	12	30	25
Better off in Castle Square	19	40	11	61	11	30	5	32	46	39
TOTAL	48	101	18	100	36	100	16	100	118	100

D. Amount of Change in Life Since Relocation (N=119)

In almost every way	4	8	1	6	3	8	2	13	10	8
In many ways	5	10	-	-	6	17	2	13	13	11
In a few ways	8	16	4	22	9	25	2	13	23	19
Hardly at all	32	65	13	72	18	50	10	63	73	61
TOTAL	49	99	18	100	36	100	16	102	119	99

E. Comparison of Future and Present Personal Ladder Ratings (N=90)

Future higher	22	59	7	58	13	43	3	27	45	50
Same	12	32	2	17	17	57	7	64	38	42
Future lower	3	8	3	25	-	-	1	9	7	8
TOTAL	37	99	12	100	30	100	11	100	90	100

* A, B and E refer to the personal ladder reflecting the respondent's perception of his general situation, C and D refer to specific questions on before and after relocation situations.

Table VII.7

ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE, by Modernism Typology (N=115)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High acceptance	7	15	1	6	7	20	2	13	17	15
Moderate acceptance	11	23	6	33	7	20	5	33	29	25
Low acceptance	22	47	6	33	18	51	7	47	53	46
No acceptance	7	15	5	28	3	9	1	7	16	14
TOTAL	47	100	18	100	35	100	15	100	115	100

Table VII.8

ALIENATION,* by Modernism Typology (N=116)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Highly alienated	13	27	8	47	13	36	5	33	39	34
Somewhat alienated	14	29	4	24	10	28	7	47	35	30
Not at all "	21	44	5	29	13	36	3	20	42	36
TOTAL	48	100	17	100	36	100	15	100	116	100

*Alienation in terms of feelings of lack of meaning and opportunity in life.

Table VII.9

MOBILITY, by Modernism Typology (N=116)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High mobility	24	50	12	67	19	54	7	47	62	53
Low mobility	24	50	6	33	16	46	8	53	54	47
TOTAL	48	100	18	100	35	100	15	100	116	100

TABLE 1

(Continued) Hydrology and Water Resources of the United States

State	Year	Area	Population	Water	Land	Water	Land	Water	Land
Ala.	1960	52,421	1,901,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700
Ark.	1960	53,112	1,200,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700
Cal.	1960	158,333	5,400,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1960. Data for 1960 are based on the 1960 Census of the United States.

TABLE 2

(Continued) Hydrology and Water Resources of the United States

State	Year	Area	Population	Water	Land	Water	Land	Water	Land
Ala.	1960	52,421	1,901,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700
Ark.	1960	53,112	1,200,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700
Cal.	1960	158,333	5,400,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1960. Data for 1960 are based on the 1960 Census of the United States.

TABLE 3

(Continued) Hydrology and Water Resources of the United States

State	Year	Area	Population	Water	Land	Water	Land	Water	Land
Ala.	1960	52,421	1,901,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700
Ark.	1960	53,112	1,200,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700
Cal.	1960	158,333	5,400,000	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700	1,100	59,700

Table VII.10

IMPORTANCE OF HOUSING, by Modernism Typology (N=118)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Important	32	67	9	50	23	63	14	88	78	66
Unimportant	16	34	9	50	13	36	2	12	40	34
TOTAL	48	101	18	100	36	99	16	100	118	100

Table VII.11

MOVING INTENTIONS PRIOR TO REDEVELOPMENT, by Modernism Typology (N=119)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Planning to or thinking of moving	12	24	3	17	9	25	6	38	30	25
Planning to stay in Castle Square	37	76	15	83	27	75	10	63	89	75
TOTAL	49	100	18	100	36	100	16	101	119	100

Table VII.12

LIFE SITUATION,* by Moving Intentions Prior to Redevelopment

A. Comparison of Present and Past Personal Ladder Ratings (N=115)

	Intend to move		Intend to stay		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Present higher	14	52	30	34	44	38
Same	8	30	32	36	40	35
Present lower	5	19	26	30	31	27
TOTAL	27	101	88	100	115	100

B. Comparison of Situations Before and After Relocation Specifically (N=118)

Better off now	15	50	27	31	42	36
About the same	9	30	21	24	30	25
Better off in Castle Square	6	20	40	46	46	39
TOTAL	30	100	88	101	118	100

C. Amount of Change in Life Since Relocation (N=120)

In almost every way	1	3	9	10	10	8
In many ways	6	20	7	8	13	11
In a few ways	3	10	20	22	23	19
Hardly at all	20	67	54	60	74	62
TOTAL	30	100	90	100	120	100

D. Comparison of Future and Present Personal Ladder Ratings (N=91)

Future higher	10	53	35	49	45	50
Same	9	47	30	42	39	43
Future lower	-	-	7	10	7	7
TOTAL	19	100	72	101	91	100

*A and E refer to the personal ladder reflecting the respondent's perception of his general situation.
B and C refer to specific questions on before and after relocation situations.

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

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TABLE VII-13. FEATURES OF CASTLE SQUARE MISSED AFTER RELOCATION, BY
SOCIAL CLASS

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>A. Features Missed (N=115)</u>										
Low rent or home ownership	8	36	22	52	17	46	8	58	55	48
Quality of the house	1	5	7	16	6	16	3	21	17	15
Neighborhood itself	7	32	15	35	14	38	5	36	41	36
People of Castle Square	10	46	22	51	21	57	7	50	60	52
Nearness to relatives	4	18	6	14	6	16	8	57	24	21
Convenience	10	46	20	47	23	62	11	7	64	56
Other economic factors	1	5	2	5	1	3	--	--	4	4
General sense of "loss"	--	--	4	9	3	8	--	--	7	6
Nothing	4	19	6	14	5	14	2	14	17	15
Total*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>B. Number of Features Missed (N=115)</u>										
Nothing	4	19	6	14	5	14	2	14	17	15
One	5	24	4	9	1	3	2	14	12	10
Two	4	19	15	35	11	30	1	7	31	27
Three	3	14	8	19	7	19	1	7	19	17
Four or more**	5	24	10	24	13	35	8	57	36	31
Total	21	100	43	101	37	101	14	99	115	100

*Totals are not applicable here as respondents may have missed more than one thing. Percentages are based on the number of respondents.

**This category also includes those who stated only that they "missed everything"—i.e. exhibited a general sense of loss.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

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Thank you for your cooperation.

TABLE VII-14. FEATURES OF CASTLE SQUARE MISSED AFTER RELOCATION, BY
MODERNISM TYPOLOGY

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>A. Features Missed (N=118)</u>										
Low rent or home ownership	19	39	12	67	20	55	5	32	56	47
Quality of the house	4	8	4	22	5	14	3	19	16	14
Neighborhood itself	16	33	8	44	13	36	5	31	42	36
People of Castle Square	27	55	7	39	22	61	5	31	61	52
Nearness to relatives	9	18	3	17	10	28	2	13	24	20
Convenience	24	49	13	72	21	58	7	44	65	55
Other economic factors	--	--	3	17	1	3	--	--	4	3
General sense of "loss"	3	6	2	11	2	6	--	--	7	6
Nothing	9	19	1	6	4	11	3	19	17	14
Total*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>B. Number of Features Missed (N=118)</u>										
Nothing	9	19	1	6	4	11	3	19	17	14
One	4	8	--	--	3	8	7	44	14	12
Two	12	25	8	44	9	25	2	13	31	26
Three	8	17	1	6	10	28	1	6	20	17
Four or more**	15	31	8	45	10	29	3	19	36	31
Total	48	100	18	101	36	101	16	101	118	100

*Totals are not applicable here as respondents may have missed more than one thing. Percentages are based on the number of respondents.

**This category also includes those who stated that they "missed everything"—i.e. exhibited a general sense of loss.

TABLE VII-15. RELATIONS WITH FRIENDS, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>A. Comparative Number of Friends</u>										
<u>Before and After Relocation</u>										
(N=114)										
More friends now	3	14	8	20	6	16	2	14	19	17
Same number	2	9	6	15	13	35	4	29	25	22
Fewer friends now	13	59	23	56	16	43	8	57	60	53
None in either place	4	18	4	10	1	3	--	--	9	8
Don't know	--	--	--	--	1	3	--	--	1	1
Total	22	100	41	101	37	100	14	100	114	101
 <u>B. Value of friends relative to</u>										
<u>Money and New Home (N=113)</u>										
Keeping friends more important	14	67	24	59	17	46	12	86	67	59
Keeping friends less important	7	33	17	42	19	51	2	14	45	40
Don't know	--	--	--	--	1	3	--	--	1	1
Total	21	100	41	101	37	100	14	100	113	100
 <u>C. Influence of Need to Leave</u>										
<u>Friends on Acceptance of Job</u>										
<u>Advancement Opportunity</u>										
(N=113)										
Might stop acceptance	3	15	5	12	11	30	6	43	25	22
A serious consideration but not stop acceptance	4	20	5	12	3	8	3	21	15	13
Not matter at all	13	65	32	76	23	62	5	36	73	65
Total	20	100	42	100	37	100	14	100	113	100

TABLE VII-16. COMPARATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT NEIGHBORS AND PEOPLE OF CASTLE SQUARE, BY SOCIAL CLASS (N=112)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Like present neighbors more than Circle Square people	7	32	11	27	8	23	1	7	27	24
Like present neighbors about the same	5	23	15	37	10	29	6	43	36	32
Like present neighbors less	10	46	12	29	13	37	7	50	42	38
No feelings about either group	--	--	3	7	4	12	--	--	7	6
Total	22	101	41	100	35	101	14	100	112	100

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California.

Section	Range	County	Acres	Value
10	10	10	10	10
20	20	20	20	20
30	30	30	30	30
40	40	40	40	40
50	50	50	50	50
60	60	60	60	60
70	70	70	70	70
80	80	80	80	80
90	90	90	90	90
100	100	100	100	100

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California.

Section	Range	County	Acres	Value
10	10	10	10	10
20	20	20	20	20
30	30	30	30	30
40	40	40	40	40
50	50	50	50	50
60	60	60	60	60
70	70	70	70	70
80	80	80	80	80
90	90	90	90	90
100	100	100	100	100

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California.

Section	Range	County	Acres	Value
10	10	10	10	10
20	20	20	20	20
30	30	30	30	30
40	40	40	40	40
50	50	50	50	50
60	60	60	60	60
70	70	70	70	70
80	80	80	80	80
90	90	90	90	90
100	100	100	100	100

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California.

Section	Range	County	Acres	Value
10	10	10	10	10
20	20	20	20	20
30	30	30	30	30
40	40	40	40	40
50	50	50	50	50
60	60	60	60	60
70	70	70	70	70
80	80	80	80	80
90	90	90	90	90
100	100	100	100	100

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, regarding the land owned by the United States in the State of California.

Section	Range	County	Acres	Value
10	10	10	10	10
20	20	20	20	20
30	30	30	30	30
40	40	40	40	40
50	50	50	50	50
60	60	60	60	60
70	70	70	70	70
80	80	80	80	80
90	90	90	90	90
100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VII-17. RELATIONS WITH RELATIVES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
A. <u>Importance of Living Near</u>										
<u>Relatives (N=103)</u>										
Very important	8	42	8	21	12	38	11	79	39	38
Important	3	16	7	18	10	31	1	7	21	20
Means a little	3	16	10	26	2	6	--	--	15	15
Unimportant	5	26	13	34	8	25	2	14	28	27
Total	19	100	38	99	32	100	14	100	103	100
B. <u>Comparative Number of</u>										
<u>Relatives Nearby Before</u>										
<u>and After Relocation</u>										
<u>(N=72)*</u>										
More nearby now	1	7	3	12	1	5	1	10	6	8
Same number	9	64	17	65	15	68	8	80	49	68
Fewer nearby now	4	29	6	23	6	27	1	10	17	24
Total	14	100	26	100	22	100	10	100	72	100
C. <u>Comparative Frequency of</u>										
<u>Contact with Relatives</u>										
<u>Before* and After Relocation</u>										
<u>(N=73)</u>										
More often now	1	7	1	4	1	4	--	--	3	4
About as often	8	57	24	92	13	57	5	50	50	69
Less often	5	36	1	4	9	39	5	50	20	27
Total	14	100	26	100	23	101	10	100	73	100

* Asked only of those with relatives in the Boston area.

1-17-1941

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

DATE	NAME	AGE
1-17-41

TABLE VII-18. RELATIONS WITH FRIENDS, BY MODERNISM TYPOLOGY

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. <u>Comparative Number of Friends Before and After Relocation (N=118)</u>										
More friends now	8	16	2	12	6	17	3	19	19	16
Same number	10	20	3	18	9	25	5	31	27	23
Fewer friends now	30	61	9	53	17	47	6	38	62	53
None in either place	--	--	3	18	4	11	2	13	9	8
Don't know	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Total	49	99	17	101	36	100	16	101	118	101
B. <u>Value of Friends Relative to Money and New Home (N=117)</u>										
Keeping friends more important	33	69	10	56	18	50	7	47	68	58
Keeping friends less important	15	31	7	39	18	50	7	47	47	40
Don't know	--	--	1	6	--	--	1	7	2	2
Total	48	100	18	101	36	100	15	101	117	100
C. <u>Influence of Need to Leave Friends on Acceptance of Job Advancement Opportunity (N=116)</u>										
Might stop acceptance	10	21	6	33	6	17	4	27	26	22
Serious consideration, but not stop acceptance	5	10	--	--	8	23	2	13	15	13
Not matter at all	33	69	12	67	21	60	9	60	75	65
Total	48	100	18	100	35	100	15	100	116	100

TABLE VII-19. COMPARATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT NEIGHBORS AND PEOPLE OF CASTLE SQUARE, BY MODERNISM TYPOLOGY (N=116)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Like present neighbors more than Castle Square people	11	22	5	30	6	18	6	38	28	24
Like present neighbors about the same	16	33	2	12	13	38	6	38	37	32
Like present neighbors less	19	39	7	41	14	41	4	25	44	38
No feelings about either group	3	6	3	18	1	3	--	--	7	6
Total	49	100	17	101	34	100	16	101	116	100

1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000
1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

TABLE VII-21. WISHES AND HOPES,* BY SOCIAL CLASS (N=114)

	<u>Under</u> (N=22)		<u>Lower</u> (N=42)		<u>Working</u> (N=36)		<u>Middle</u> (N=14)		<u>Total</u> (N=114)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Concern for Self Alone</u>										
Own personal character	2	9	2	5	9	25	3	21	16	14
One's own health	2	9	4	10	6	17	3	21	15	13
Happy old age	1	5	3	7	4	11	2	14	10	9
Other references to "self"	2	9	7	17	6	17	2	14	17	15
<u>Economic Concerns for Family and/or Self</u>										
Decent or improved standard of living	2	9	16	38	16	44	1	7	35	31
Have wealth	1	5	1	2	2	6	2	14	6	5
Own home	1	5	3	7	3	8	--	--	7	6
Adequate or improved housing	11	50	10	24	9	25	1	7	31	27
Good job	2	9	7	17	7	19	6	43	22	19
Others	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	1
<u>Concerns for Family</u>										
Happy family life	1	5	4	10	2	6	5	36	12	11
Wishes for relatives	3	14	1	2	2	6	--	--	6	5
Wishes for children	1	5	6	14	3	8	4	29	14	12
Others	--	--	1	2	1	3	--	--	2	2
<u>Concern for Others Beyond Self and/or Family</u>										
Peace and harmony	--	--	--	--	1	3	2	14	3	3
Others	1	5	2	5	--	--	3	21	6	5
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	1	5	2	5	--	--	--	--	3	3
<u>Maintain Status Quo</u>	2	9	4	10	1	3	2	14	9	8
<u>Refusal to Wish</u>	2	9	3	7	--	--	--	--	5	4
Total**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

*Complete codes are found in the Code Book for Card 4, Columns 15, 16, and 17.

**Totals are not applicable as the respondent may have expressed more than one wish. Percentages are based on the number of respondents.

$\frac{1}{\sqrt{\pi}} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) e^{-x^2} dx = \frac{1}{\sqrt{\pi}} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} f(x) e^{-(x-i0)^2} dx$

(1)

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}$

[illegible]

TABLE VII-22. WISHES AND HOPES,* BY MODERNISM TYPOLOGY (N=117)

	MM (N=49)		MT (N=16)		TM (N=36)		TT (N=16)		Total (N=117)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>Concern for Self Alone</u>										
Own personal character	9	18	--	--	6	17	1	6	16	14
One's own health	7	14	--	--	6	17	4	25	17	15
Happy old age	4	8	2	13	3	8	1	6	10	9
Other references to "self"	10	20	3	19	3	8	1	6	17	15
<u>Economic Concerns for Family and/or Self</u>										
Decent or improved standard of living	13	27	6	38	14	39	3	19	36	31
Have wealth	4	8	2	13	--	--	--	--	6	5
Own home	4	8	2	13	1	3	--	--	7	6
Adequate or improved housing	10	20	7	44	12	33	3	19	32	27
Good job	13	27	2	13	4	11	3	19	22	19
Others	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
<u>Concerns for Family</u>										
Happy family life	8	16	--	--	3	8	1	6	12	10
Wishes for relatives	--	--	2	13	1	3	3	19	6	5
Wishes for children	8	16	1	6	5	14	1	6	15	13
Other	--	--	--	--	1	3	1	6	2	2
<u>Concern for Others Beyond Self and/or Family</u>										
Peace and harmony	3	6	--	--	--	--	1	6	4	3
Others	4	8	1	6	--	--	1	6	6	5
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	2	4	--	--	--	--	1	6	3	3
<u>Maintain Status Quo</u>	3	6	--	--	6	17	1	6	10	9
<u>Refusal to Wish</u>	--	--	--	--	2	6	2	13	4	3
Total**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

*Complete codes are found in the Code Book for Card 4, Columns 15, 16, and 17.

**Totals are not applicable as the respondent may have expressed more than one wish. Percentages are based on the number of respondents.

TABLE VII. 21 OPINION OF URBAN RENEWAL IN BOSTON,

BY SOCIAL CLASS (n=114)

	Under		Lower		Working		Middle		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Approval	9	43	17	41	11	30	5	36	42	37
Approval With Reservations	2	10	9	21	8	22	2	14	21	18
Disapproval With Reservations	4	19	11	26	9	24	2	14	26	23
Total Disapproval	4	19	3	7	8	22	4	29	19	17
Resignation	-	--	1	2	--	--	1	7	2	2
No Opinion	2	10	1	2	1	3	-	--	4	4
Total	21	101	42	99	37	101	14	100	114	101

TABLE VII.24 OPINION OF URBAN RENEWAL IN BOSTON,

BY MODERNISM TYPOLOGY (n=157)

	MM		MT		TM		TT		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total Approval	16	33	6	35	12	33	9	56	43	37
Approval With Reservations:	8	17	2	12	10	28	3	19	23	20
Disapproval With Reservations	16	33	4	24	6	17	-	--	26	22
Total Disapproval	3	13	4	24	6	17	2	13	18	15
Resignation	1	2	-	--	1	3	-	--	2	2
No Opinion	1	2	1	6	1	3	2	13	5	4
Total	48	100	17	101	36	101	16	101	117	100

TABLE VII.25 FINANCIAL SITUATION AFTER RELOCATION
(n=115)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Wo</u>
	N	%	N	%	N
MORE TROUBLE MAKING ENDS MEET					
Increased Rent	4	19	4	9	7
Increased Rent and General Expenses	4	19	1	2	2
Increased general expenses	1	5	2	5	2
Cost of home ownership	--	--	--	--	1
Decreased income; due to move	1	5	1	2	--
Decreased income, due not to move	--	--	2	5	2
Other	1	5	--	--	--
SAME AMOUNT OF TROUBLE					
	5	24	23	54	20
No changes in situation					
Decreased rents	3	14	16	37	17
Increased Income	1	5	2	5	--
Other	1	5	3	7	3
LESS TROUBLE					
	5	24*	10	23	3
Decreased rents					
Home ownership	2	10	2	5	2
Increased income	--	--	1	2	1
Decreased rents and increased income	--	--	5	12	--
Others	1	5	--	--	--
	2	10	2	5	--
Total					
	21	100	43	100	37

* Totals are in some cases not exactly equal to the sum of the percentages for ti because of rounding-off.

1900-1901

01

	Total N	%
1. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
2. <i>Curculionids</i>	1	100
3. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
4. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
5. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
6. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
7. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
8. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
9. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
10. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
11. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
12. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
13. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
14. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
15. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
16. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
17. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
18. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
19. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
20. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
21. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
22. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
23. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
24. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
25. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
26. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
27. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
28. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
29. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
30. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
31. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
32. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
33. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
34. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
35. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
36. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
37. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
38. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
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40. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
41. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
42. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
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48. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
49. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
50. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
51. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
52. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
53. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
54. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
55. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
56. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
57. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
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61. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
62. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
63. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
64. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
65. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
66. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
67. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
68. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
69. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
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71. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
72. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
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77. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
78. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
79. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
80. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
81. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
82. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
83. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
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88. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
89. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
90. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
91. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
92. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
93. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
94. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
95. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
96. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	100
97. <i>Chrysomelids</i>	1	

42 37

53 46

20 17

115 100

TABLE VII.25 FINANCIAL SITUATION AFTER RELOCATION, BY SOCIAL CLASS
(n=115)

	<u>Under</u>		<u>Lower</u>		<u>Working</u>		<u>Middle</u>
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
MORE TROUBLE MAKING ENDS MEET							
Increased Rent	4	19	4	9	7	19	-
Increased Rent and General Expenses	4	19	1	2	2	5	-
Increased general expenses	1	5	2	5	2	5	-
Cost of home ownership	-	--	--	--	1	3	5
Decreased income; due to move	1	5	1	2	--	--	-
Decreased income, due not to move	-	--	2	5	2	5	2
Other	1	5	--	--	--	--	--
SAME AMOUNT OF TROUBLE							
No changes in situation	3	14	16	37	17	46	4
Decreased rents	1	5	2	5	--	--	-
Increased Income	-	--	2	5	--	--	1
Other	1	5	3	7	3	8	-
LESS TROUBLE							
Decreased rents	2	10	2	5	2	5	2
Home ownership	-	--	1	2	1	3	-
Increased income	-	--	5	12	-	--	2
Decreased rents and increased income	1	5	--	--	--	--	-
Others	2	10	2	5	--	--	--
Total	21	100	43	100	37	100	14

* Totals are in some cases not exactly equal to the sum of the percentages for the specific reasons because of rounding-off.

APPENDIX ~~IX~~ VIII

APPENDIX IX

